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ABSTRACT

This monograph describes the origins and implementation of a Federal educational program, the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP), designed to improve urban public schools through the efforts of researchers and consultants in a research and development setting. The first section provides background information on the IAP study. Section two contains discussions of conceptualization, planning and contracting of IAP staff, and initial problems encountered. An analysis and interpretation of IAP activities, the social milieu that surrounds the organization, as well as its relationship with the Federal Education Department (FED), are discussed in section three. A literature review on public policy and an evaluation of systemic, interactional, and contextual theories concerned with improving urban education make up the fourth section. Appended to the report are an evaluation of a proposal similar to the IAP, a section on methodological and procedural issues, a problem statement, research instruments, and a bibliography. (AOS)

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Federal Policy in Action: A Case Study of an Urban Education Project

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The National
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Federal Policy in Action:
A Case Study of an Urban Education Project

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FOREWARD

The study by Smith and Dwyer printed here addresses classic issues in education and, more generally, in organizational life. Negotiations are now underway for the publication of this volume as a book. We are pleased to distribute a limited printing of the text before its publication both because of the importance of the issues addressed, and because of the powerful analysis and insight the authors present.

Contemporary arguments such as the utility of educational evaluation, or the level of funding for basic research, rest on fundamental uncertainties about the role of various kinds of knowledge in educational practice. Vast dissemination efforts, by Federal, state, and regional educational agencies, are based on hopes for wider use of formal knowledge of various kinds.

Smith and Dwyer have had access to a project which aimed to address the intertwined issues of educational improvement, generation of knowledge, and the linkage of knowledge to action. Their narrative and their analyses show the complexity of the quest, the many ways there are to fall short of important goals.

The story which unfolds in the pages to follow is cause both for caution in our hopes for easy solutions to the old dilemmas of connecting research to action, and for optimism in view of the many concerned people who are working on the subject.

Fritz Mulhauser
Head, School Management and
Organization Studies

December 1980

Section 1

AN INTRODUCTION

Overview of Section I

Our first and only short section serves to orient the reader to a story and subsequent analysis of a large and tangled federal education project known as IAP, the Inquiry and Assistance Project. As with many guide posts of simple construction we may fail to indicate in our introductory chapters the complexity and anguish, especially for the participants, that characterize an activity that our innocuous acronym, IAP, represents. Perhaps, we should have written in bold letters, PROCEED AT OWN RISK! Perhaps, letting the story unfold to the reader with minimal introduction will convey our story most meaningfully. Whatever, that's our best gambit. Chapter One introduces the nature of our problem or problems, the understandings we sought from IAP. The first chapter describes who might be interested in the document and concludes with an abbreviated description of our method. Chapter Two introduces the reader to the purposes, people and places that came to be known as the Inquiry and Assistance Project. It paints a concerned picture and leads the reader to later sections which contains the IAP story.

Finally, we need to express our appreciation to our friends and colleagues, who are the central actors in this story, for talking with us, often at a time about issues which were sensitive, difficult and personal. Without wanting to sound maudlin, their concern for social science, for education, and for urban schools is without parallel in our experience.

Chapter One

The Problem, the Audience, and the Method

In writing a long research report, monograph or book, it is helpful if the authors have in mind a clear conception of the message, the story, the interpretation they are trying to convey and a clear image of the audience to whom they are speaking, teaching or helping. These two issues, while complex in this instance, do have specificity and clarity.

The story is a case study, a history and an analysis, of a government sponsored project, the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP), designed to improve public schools through the efforts of researchers and consultants in an R & D setting. In our view, one way of stating this is that the central issue under investigation in this monograph is the nature of federal policy in action. Webster defines policy as "a settled course adopted and followed by a government institution, body or individual." In a recent social science analysis, Bauer (1968) succinctly speaks of "policy formation [as] a social process in which an intellectual process is imbedded" (p. 5). That intermingling of ideas and people over time is very much at the heart of our conception. In short, a small government agency, the Federal Education Department, produced a request for proposals for a study which was to inquire into innovations currently underway in a number of urban school districts and to use that knowledge to help other urban districts create planned change through consultative assistance. The group that responded to the RFP and won the five year contract had a tumultuous existence in its relationship with the FEDs, with the several public school systems with which it worked, and mostly, within itself. It's that story we wish to tell, to narrate, to portray. In addition, we want to detach ourselves from the particulars and try to see the case as an instance of a more general set of ideas or theory about federal education policy in action.

In delineating the case it seems helpful to indicate a few exemplars of things it is not. For instance, the study is not the making of a law as recounted in Redman (1973), although part of the context is a legal statute authorizing the Federal Education Department. Nor is it the study of an educational agency as in Dershimer's (1976) and Sproull et al's (1978) analyses of the National Institute of Education, although the activities of the Federal Education Department is an important part of the story and the analysis. Nor is it the story of an R & D effort, as in Shipman's (1974) case study of the Keele Integrated Studies Project, although IAP as an R & D organization is a large part of the domain under investigation. It is not Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) study of implementation, although implementation is a definite part of the theme. Finally, it is neither the study of an innovative school or a traditional classroom as Gross et al (1972), Smith and Keith (1971) and Smith and Geoffrey (1968) have recounted, although a number of school districts, schools and classrooms, both innovative and traditional were involved. Our case is none of these in total, but a little of all of them. We are concerned with the origination, the formalization, and the realization of educational policy. Most succinctly, it is a study of the processes of Federal Policy in Action.

To us, the importance of the study seems self-evident. The plight of the urban schools in late 20th century America epitomizes the most difficult problems of our society. The very framing and defining of those problems, much less their resolution is not clear. Conflicts in values abound such as the relative priority of equality or fraternity or freedom. Beliefs vary dramatically. Practical reasoning and action of different individuals and groups go in different directions. When able, imaginative, well-intentioned individuals come together to work on these problems, when they spend large sums of public monies, when the effort is serious enough to involve several years of time, it seems important that academics, such as ourselves, try to understand, interpret, and tell their story. That is, that we search the record for whatever wisdom can be accumulated.

Our monograph is like an interpretive narrative. Readers can immerse themselves in the story, empathasize with any set of actors, make their own analyses, and debate with us over the interpretations and explanations we make and the implications we draw. We proceed on the assumption that human action is modifiable not only directly but by vicarious experience as well.

The audience breaks easily into three subgroups. First, we would include educationists who work in the government in such organizations as the Office of Education, the National Institute of Education and the State Departments of Education. The second audience includes educationists who spend most of their time researching and consulting in one part or another of the educational system. Most of these individuals work in universities, R & D centers, and in non-profit educational organizations. If we were to identify a subset of researchers and consultants, those that classify themselves as field workers, ethnographers or qualitative case study types would be the most relevant. The third audience is public school educationists, teachers, principals, superintendents and other central office staff.

Within the three groups of educationists, a large overlapping subset becomes our priority audience. These are the individuals in any one group who tend to have contact and relationships with the other groups. For instance, public school educationists who are involved with government contracts for research and consulting qualify here. Similarly, researchers and consultants whose activities require them to move back and forth between government agencies and the public schools are a similar priority subset. And, finishing the permutations, there are government civil servants whose service to the schools is mediated by researchers and consultants.

With the nature of the story and the audience defined, we wish to invite the reader to peruse Appendix II, Methodological and Procedural Issues. We present a detailed discussion of our research methods. We entertain issues as broad and abstract as the epistemology of the study and as narrow and concrete as the entering comment to an interview. Here, it seems sufficient to present the brief overview which is part of our initial proposal. It was the basis of our initial discussions regarding our intentions and from which our interviewees could make initial judgments regarding informed consent.

The research approach is in keeping with what has been called case study, field study and educational ethnography. Within that broad genre, several particular elements are worthy of special notice:

1. The study is an elaboration of the principal investigator's[1] series of participant observational studies in education, (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968; Smith and Keith, 1971; Smith and Pohland, 1974; Smith, 1977a, 1977b).
2. The principal investigator is a semi-independent/semi-involved observer and analyst. He has been on IAP's advisory board for two years. Consequently he has some familiarity with the development of IAP, its structure, its mandate. At the same time, his major reference groups are the Graduate Institute of Education at Washington University and the American Educational Research Association. In part he is Powdermaker's (1966) "Stranger and Friend" and Bruyn's (1966) "Involved and Detached" participant observer.
3. A considerable number of documents regarding the project exist in the offices of IAP and the Federal Education Department. Access to these will facilitate the historical reconstruction of the project.
4. In the tenor of oral history, project participants from the many sub-groups making up the overall social system will be interviewed to develop a clarity of the multiple perspectives on the project, its development and its functioning.
5. As the project is still underway, some time will be spent in the setting observing the current stage of the project as it moves into its mid-term and final phases.
6. The bringing together the multiple strands of data toward a valid picture of the phenomenon is what Denzin (1970) has called "triangulation" and what Smith and Pohland (1974, 1976) have called the "multimethod, multiperson, multisituation, and multivariable matrix" in their analyses of participant observer methodology. (RD, Y5)[2]

---

[1] The initial proposal was drafted by Smith.

[2] Procedurally, FN is Field Notes, SO is Summary Observations, TI is Taped Interview, PD is Project Document, and RD is Research Document, written comments arising because of our activities in studying IAP. These are presented verbatim, except for minor editing for clarity. Y1, Y2, Y3, etc. indicate the year, in terms of the project's history, when the data were generated. Y1 = RFP development and competition year, Y2 = first year of IAP's operation, Y3 = second year of IAP's operation, Y4 = third year of operation, Y5 = terminal year of project and beginning of Federal Policy in Action Study; Y6 is the research feedback year during which we received reactions to our initial report. For further elaboration on methodological theory and procedures see our methodological appendix and earlier accounts in Smith and Geoffrey (1968) and Smith (1979).

For the most part, we kept within that broad framework. As we came to know about IAP, we pursued particular questions in interviews and documents. As we got involved in data collection we participated more fully and collegially in responding to papers and engaging in debates and discussions as fellow field workers, change agents, and developers of educational theory.

Our investigation has several unique features. One of these involved catching the tag end of IAP, that is, we became participant observers of the terminal phase of the project. Seldom does one have the opportunity to share this part of the educational R & D experience. It is a distressing, emotional, poignant experience. But it is a part of the totality of educational R & D. The coping activities of individuals and organizations come into high relief. Generating relevant theory to handle such events seems a worthy objective along the way toward the overall interpretation. In additon, we have invited the participants into the research process far more than is usually done. We have used documents they wrote at the time. We have over a hundred hours of taped interviews from which we have tried to let individuals speak for themselves. Finally, and perhaps most originally, we have solicited comments on a long first draft of the research report (432 pages) and then have tried to use a number of those comments both as footnotes and as substantive additions to clarify issues, to expand individual and often conflicting perspectives, and to emphasize points previously made. We write more analytically to the cost and benefits of this process in the methodological appendix. The resulting data are rich with emotion and filled with individual perceptions of events. We attempted a writing style that would allow that richness to create scenes in which the readers could almost participate and create their own intuitions and understandings about the Inquiry and Assistance Project.

One critic of the preliminary draft likened the narrative portion to a Fellini movie. His specific comments while not wholly charitable read:

> One image I had was of a Fellini movie (Satyricon with a smattering of 8½) where there may be an incredible sequence of scenes, with sharp images but complicated iconography, and fuzzy lines to other motifs in the movie. Grotesqueries stand out, partly because that is the focus, but also because the "line," the good old narrative linear thread, is weak. There is dream material and real material, with not much to discriminate--in your case the dreams of retrospective images with all the emotional coloring of the events that succeeded them....
>
> There are two ways to see a Fellini movie. One involves letting yourself be drawn into the "life of the film," the expressiveness (becoming the protagonist).... On the other hand, one can go see such a movie as an artificial record/sequence which will offer insight, intellectual challenge, and viable alternative modes of expression for general human potentialities and dilemmas. Standing outside the piece, you structure it, seek to use it, try to make sense of other events through it. (RD, Y6)

Our critic then casts our document as a "fabulous underground labyrinth" which leads only to "feeling more and more disoriented."

To a point then our first attempt succeeded. We have strived in this edition to provide the reader with a clearer "road map" through the "fabulous underground labyrinth." Federal Policy in Action is a complex story and we do wish to immerse the uninformed and informed reader in the vivid and often dramatic scenes we found within the story. The result is at times non-linear as multiple perspectives of some events and strands are portrayed. We hope that the result impacts on new readers similarly to other readers of the first draft. Their independent reactions were:

> Thanks for sending me your draft of Federal Policy in Action. As I read through your draft, the horror of IAP was rekindled in my mind. What you have written so far vividly recaptures for me many of those gruesome events. (RD, Y6)

And,

> I would sometimes get the feeling that you were becoming terribly abstract...I'd begin to lose touch with the experience...but then I'd find myself back in touch. I'm not quite sure how you did those transitions, but they succeed at a feeling level. (RD, Y6)

In a brief way we have begun the work of relating the history and analysis of the Inquiry and Assistance Project. Almost as in billing a play, the theme has been revealed, an appropriate audience solicited and that same audience alerted to the nature of the production. Chapter Two will fill in the program, set a foreboding tone, and raise the curtain on the multiple stages of our story.

Chapter Two

An Introduction to the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP)

1. THE INTERORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF IAP

To develop an initial overview that will serve to orient the reader to the Inquiry and Assistance Project, we turn to Shapero and Bates' (1959) organizational categories, i.e., determinants, components and system integrators. A brief sketching of the elements within those categories should serve to guide the reader through the narrative and analysis which follows.

First, the determinant of the system which evolved into the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP) was initially the Federal Education Department (FED), and most specifically several of its professional staff, Clifford Dempsey, Joe Engleman and Rachel O'Neal. The goal of the project was, essentially, how and what can be learned from a variety of innovative urban education programs and how can other school districts be assisted with what was learned from them. This over-reaching goal subsumed three more specific but related purposes:

1) The Inquiry Purpose - identifying and describing the features of innovative efforts of ten urban schools to solve their problems;
2) The Consultative Assistance Purpose - developing consultative assistance strategies to amplify and enhance efforts of schools to solve their own problems; and
3) The Articulation Purpose - joining the experiences of the inquiry efforts and the consultative assistance efforts to draw reliable generalizations about how these activities can inform one another.

Second, the components of IAP were the three main separate organizations which cooperated to carry out the project's mandates. The organizations were first, FED, the Federal Education Department, located in Washington. D.C.; second, the primary contractor, the Applied Research Center (ARC) located in Central City, a large midwestern city; and third, another research group on the west coast which was subcontracted to ARC, the Group Process Center (GPC). IAP created a Branch Office in Eastern City. Finally, the organizational structure was complicated by ten Inquiry Settings, separately funded by the FEDs and two Consultative Assistance Settings developed by ARC and GPC. Figure 2.1 captures the essence of the levels and parts of the IAP organization. Part of our story and analysis will unravel the complexities of these organizational complexities. In addition it seems helpful to introduce some of the main actors in the story. A partial list of characters, so to speak follows

Insert Figure 2.1 about here

as Figure 2.2. This list of characters is most complete for the period near the end of the project. It is, therefore, time bound and does not reflect the extensive staff turn over and large number of people who worked on IAP during its entire history.

Insert Figure 2.2 about here

Third and finally, the system integrators, i.e., organizational and operational sequences can best be demonstrated by two simple figures, 2.3 and 2.4. Both are gross simplifications. Figure 2.3 interrelates the three major phases of the project (which correspond to the review and funding periods) with the two ongoing tasks, and the multiple year time line. Phase I, the Inquiry phase, focused the IAP team on ten urban schools in which a wide range of previously funded innovative programs were being implemented. The Phase I plan called for IAP to record the experiences of these ten settings and begin to synthesize ideas about the nature of planned change that might be applicable to other urban schools which wrestled with their own problems. In the main, Phase II involved wrapping up the Inquiry thrust and gearing up the consultative assistance thrust. IAP was to gain entry into new urban school settings and attempt to help those schools with insights gained during Phase I. Phase III might best be described as having had a reflective intent. The tasks listed for that phase would have summarized the entire IAP experience. This description of IAP represents the phases as sequenced, each building on the prior phase. Although Figure 2.3 was prepared from information contained in the IAP proposal, in operation, the phases greatly overlapped.

At least one participant in responding to the preliminary draft of this report disagreed that the phase were ever so rational in sequence or purpose.

> It was not clear in early days that the Consultative Assistance process was to evolve from the Inquiry Phase of IAP. This was one of the major theoretical debates raging in the project.... You [Smith and Dwyer] give false illusion of clarity and structure of project and the complexities of the process.... The three phases were not as clearly sequential as you present them. (RD, Y6)

Insert Figure 2.3 about here

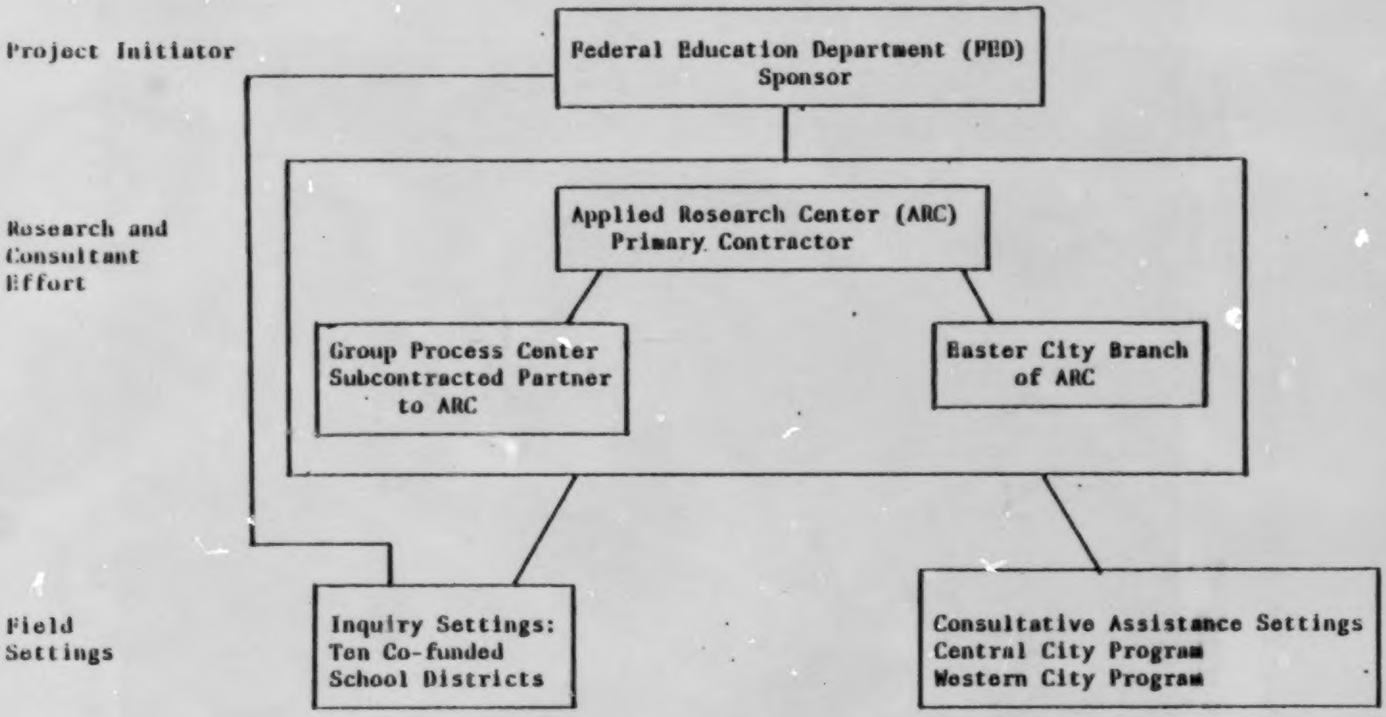

Project Initiator
Federal Education Department (FED)
Sponsor
Research and
Consultant
Effort
Applied Research Center (ARC)
Primary Contractor
Group Process Center
Subcontracted Partner
to ARC
Easter City Branch
of ARC
Field
Settings
Inquiry Settings:
Ten Co-funded
School Districts
Consultative Assistance Settings
Central City Program
Western City Program

Figure 2.1 Overall structure of IAP

FEDERAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (FED) - Washington, D.C.

Officers of the department	Clifford Dempsy
	Rachel O'Neal
	Joe Engleman

APPLIED RESEARCH CENTER (ARC) - Central City

Officers

Co-Director of ARC and Director of IAP	Roy Taylor
Co-Director of ARC	Randy Jennings
Research Director	Rich Morrow
Administrative Director	Harriet Thompson

Internal Staff

Consultative Assistance Leader	Peter Frank
Assistant to Director	Joyce Mayer
Writer	Phyllis Reynolds
Writer	Arthur Shipton
Data Facilitator	Beatrice Maze
Historian	Bob Glass

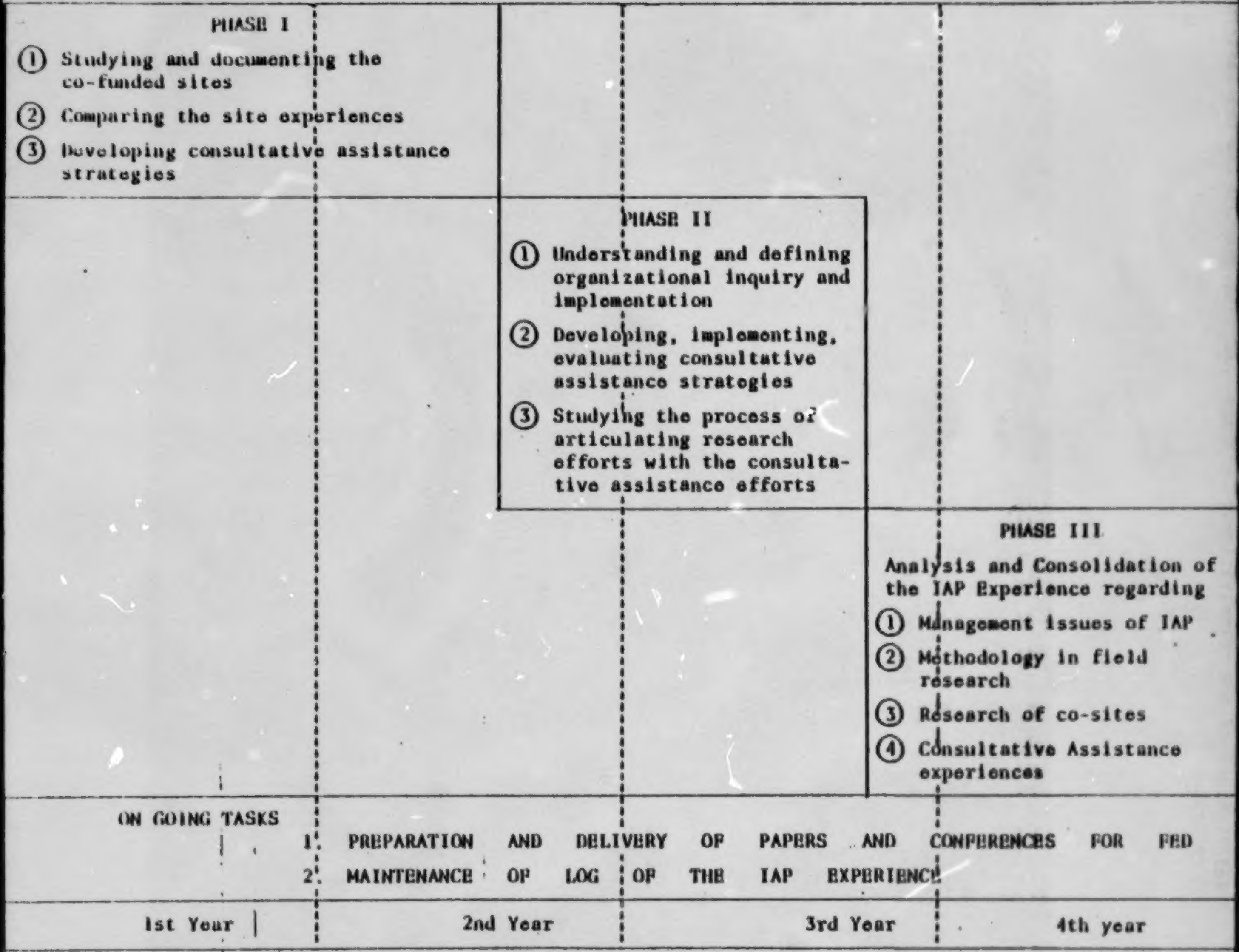
Field Staff

Eastern City Director	Sara Carlton
Field Researchers	Martha Freer
Other Field Staff	

GROUP PROCESS CENTER (GPC) - Western City

Co-Director of GPC and Co-Director of IAP	Larry Masters
Co-Director of GPC	Paul Brown
Consultative Assistance Director	June Palmer
Consultative Assistance Coordinator	Bill Johnson
Data System Developer	George Temple
Researcher	Terrence Able

Figure 2.2 A Partial Listing of IAP Staff and Significant Others



PHASE I

① Studying and documenting the co-funded sites

② Comparing the site experiences

③ Developing consultative assistance strategies

PHASE II

① Understanding and defining organizational inquiry and implementation

② Developing, implementing, evaluating consultative assistance strategies

③ Studying the process of articulating research efforts with the consultative assistance efforts

PHASE III

Analysis and Consolidation of the IAP Experience regarding

① Management issues of IAP

② Methodology in field research

③ Research of co-sites

④ Consultative Assistance experiences

ON GOING TASKS

1. PREPARATION AND DELIVERY OF PAPERS AND CONFERENCES FOR FED
2. MAINTENANCE OF LOG OF THE IAP EXPERIENCE

Figure 2.3 Intended Operational Sequence of IAP

With this brief overview complete, we invite the reader to step into descriptions of the organizational settings, ARC, FED and GPC and the Eastern City Branch.

2. FOUR KEY SETTINGS: FIRST IMPRESSIONS

The Context

In spite of disclaimers from many social scientists and philosophers we believe social research findings, both the more concrete particulars and the broader more abstract generalizations to be time and place bound. We entered IAP shortly after the arrival of the bad news that IAP was being terminated halfway through its original mandate, at the end of Phase II. A letter from the FEDs to a group of reviewers who helped make the decision presents forcefully this event.

> Dear Colleague:
>
> I'm writing to bring you up to date on our work with the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP) you helped us review. A number of enclosures give the story in great detail, but here it is in brief. Twelve people from outside the Federal Education Department in positions from superintendent to consultant to principal to scholar, read and reacted to the project's draft products. FED staff did the same. Seven readers attended a two-day meeting to discuss the products and two memoranda about future project plans prepared by the project director. Most readers were critical in their evaluations of the products, and those who reviewed the plans gave strong advice that the project should not continue as proposed in the director's memos, and that the Federal Education Department should reduce the scale of activity in view of the limited value of the products so far. After extensive discussion of reviewers' recommendations, the Director of the Federal Education Department decided to terminate the project as quickly as possible, with the exception of a few activities with promise....
>
> Sincerely,
>
> FED
> (PD, YS)

We tried to capture those settings and their respective moods at the time and to contrast those descriptions with other perceptions.

The Applied Research Center (ARC)

The Headquarters for IAP was in Central City, a large industrial city in the midwest. The organization that had bid jointly with another research group and had been awarded the primary contract was the Applied Research Center (ARC). Its own public relations material describes it as a non-profit organization that exists to improve the quality of urban education. The organization seeks to assist public school districts in creating fundamental change in their educational environments. They offer public schools assistance in planning, staff development, restructuring organizations, and planning or conducting evaluation and basic research in education.

At the beginning of the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP) the Applied Research Center was three years old. The following account describes how ARC looked to the researchers on a first time visit in early March of Year V. We were coming to begin our "history and analysis of IAP." The project had been in existence three years. Two months before, in early January, the Federal Education Department had decided to terminate the project, two years before its scheduled finishing date.

The Central City office occupied the 22nd floor of a stone-faced office building not unlike many others that fill the downtown area. Security guards stationed in the building's lobby expected all visitors to register their names and destinations but most people simply walked by them without stopping. Several shops, that opened into the lobby, were unoccupied and their empty display windows stared blankly into the well traveled hallway that led to the elevators. Two elevators carried passengers to any of the first seventeen floors and the remaining cars bore individuals only to the uppermost suites. Stepping onto the 22nd floor presented us immediately to the Applied Research Center. Double oak doors, one wearing a large yellow "have a good day" decal, opened into the administrative suite of the Center. At a few minutes before 9:00 these doors remained locked but a call from the other side of the lobby drew our attention to another entrance that was open. An early arriving secretary greeted us but, once inside, left us generally on our own.

The interior space was arranged much as many free or alternative schools might be. In general the floor space had been left free of floor to ceiling walls but was broken up with temporary walls made from office furniture, particle board, and bulletin boards. These partitions divided the area into territories which were mostly small and occupied by single desks, chairs and typewriters.

A few spaces proved exceptions. The director's office had a door and large glass windows that looked out on the rest of the Center or, maybe, looked in on what the director, Roy Taylor, did with his time. To the ubiquitous desk and typewriter he had added a wooden table and wooden chairs which greatly cramped the space.

Opposite his office was the hub of the business end of the enterprise. Again, this office was enclosed, did not have large glass windows, and housed Harriet Thompson, the administrative assistant to the director and person in charge of the finances.

One other office was notably different. This atypical space was decidedly larger than any of the other offices. It had no walls but was defined by a carpet, book shelves and strategically placed chairs and filing cabinets. It belonged to Beatrice Maze, a person who, among other things, headed the Central City consultative assistance group for the Center.

In addition to the offices there was a lounge containing a small carpet, couches, coffee table and magazines, a coffee maker, candy bar and soda vending machines and gloriously healthy scheffleras. The lounge windows stared out on a pink steel and glass monstrosity of a building that grew from the pavement across the street. ARC's library was crammed between book shelves which were squeezed between a computer console and a necessary walkway. It was filled with the kind of books on alternative schools, change and innovation in education, research and evaluation methodology and well known books by popular critics of the American educational system which would have been very attractive to sit and browse through. But the space, including the tables, was piled with miscellaneous charts, maps, and unfiled papers and did not generate the same invitation as the books themselves. Quite to the contrary, it appeared as though no one gathered here to share the books but grabbed pertinent volumes and fled back to the isolated cubicles that seemed staked out like individual territories. Finally a conference room compacted by four pale green walls and two doors served to provide privacy for meetings. The room was filled by a large central table which was surrounded by chairs. One wall displayed a fabric print of an abstract forest scene, an effort perhaps to create visual if not physical space in the enclosure.

A Xerox machine occupied a narrow hallway which connected the two halves of the office suite and hummed loudly, warming up for the day's work.. The early arriving secretary was arranging her hair before a mirror and sink next to the copy machine. A coffee maker had been turned on and the aroma of drip coffee began to circulate through the Center.

Other members of the staff began to arrive, mostly one by one. We met Bob Glass. The field notes describe the meeting.

> Just talked with the brand new program director, Bob Glass. We met him at the coffee machine in the Center's lounge and sat over coffee for a few minutes of introductory conversation. Bob presents himself as a nervous--maybe just too much on his mind--person, generally avoiding eye contact and punctuating his comments with slurps of coffee pulled noisily from his mug. He talked about the Center and its problems. He identified himself as an outsider, one not yet working, still eating up some vacation time, but was aware that he had six months to produce some program that would support the Center after its IAP funding ran out. He said that the people here have a general agreement about what they can do but getting them to agree on what they wanted to become was something else again. He talked about the "accountant's nightmare," small projects that were generated quickly to keep the place alive but which are unsatisfactory in building an image or identity about what ARC was or could be. He was very concerned with evaluation and felt it was the key for the future of the Center. "If they could evaluate what had been done well, they could build on it for the future." He wanted to get evaluation teams out into the Center's various projects. At this point he excused himself saying he had much to do and left muttering about writing up some forms, sending out some memos and calling Washington, long distance. (FN, Y5)

After our introductory coffee with Glass, Roy Taylor, the Director of ARC and IAP, arrived. Taylor wore a three piece suit. He was soft spoken, looked very tired, sniffled through a cold and spoke of the general malaise of the staff in this "ending and new planning phase" at the Applied Research Center. He talked further of morale. He said problems stemmed in part from limited resources and fierce competition for the remains, from people feeling cut out or the potential for being cut out, from reactions to a director who chose to begin to be directive, from too much new work when much old work remained to be done and from the overlap of responsibilities within the IAP project.

Later he pointed out a verticle file that contained many papers produced by ARC. He pulled a document, "Models That Really Work," a case study of several schools, from the shelf and said if you want to see what we can do, here's an example of the best. The document was five years old and was completed a year before the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP) began.

The staff seemed on edge; the atmosphere was sometimes suddenly tense. Treading naively on sensitive areas might bring an immediate retort baring deep feelings. An encounter with one of the project's administrative staff provides an example.

> I just asked her for help locating "professional staff" names and addresses. She said, "You mean Program Staff? There are professionals in the administrative staff also!" I backed off, apologized for my blunder....She said, "It's just that that is a real touchy word around here." (FN, YS)

It was soon apparent that the staff was constantly on the firing line, under critical eyes always, trying to do too much, and all in the pale of declining resources. These conditions cultivated a very competitive atmosphere. In an unsolicited conversation:

> Around the same issue [competition] he [an ARC member] reflected on a coworker and was very, very bitter about the quality of her work and the amount of attention and money, etc. that she got. He brought that up in a meeting too. In the light of--it must be tough to have an idea that you're working for and be constantly competing for money and seeing things cut; what does that do--and he responded that it was just a tremendously energy consuming sort of environment in that respect, that you constantly had to be on your guard. (SO, YS)

Again from the summary observations:

> Highlighting that energy issue, in a very short conversation with another of the staff this afternoon--I asked her what she was working on currently and she kind of hemmed and hawed a little bit and said, "Frankly, I really can't keep my head on anything. This is what I really want to accomplish this afternoon!" She held up the form that was entitled "Request for Days Off." She said, "That's really the only thing I can think of right now." (SO, YS)

Summary impressions were recorded the final morning of the visit.

> Interestingly we both woke up with the same residue. Dave phrased it as a dying organization. My own phrasing was much the same, something like "the end of the story." It seems as though we're going to have the picture, in part, of the final days and final phases of the project. It may well be also the final days of an organization.... There seemed to be no interpersonal or group vitality, the kind of sentiment I guess, of people who are digging their heels in to make a last stand. Rather, they were a bunch of individuals off in their own little world of problems, a big world, and not much able to communicate or to organize themselves beyond a dyad or two to get anything accomplished. (SO, Y5)

A further perception of ARC appeared in a reaction to an early draft of our report.

> The organizational conflicts and tension within ARC prior to IAP were not mentioned. IAP only served as a catalyst to bring those into the open. We viewed them as dealing with GPC, school-system, and themselves in an adversative manner. A footnote to this point is the current organizational chaos ARC now faces: the president is resigning, the staff is going through its fifth reorganization in as many years, most of the senior staff have departed, etc. Some of that was due to the IAP, but our hypothesis was that sooner or later, given the interpersonal dynamics of that organization, it would destroy itself. (RD, Y6)

Perhaps the poignancy and the contrast in this situation at this time can best be communicated by including here a reflective comment made by another observer, a member of the Federal Education Department, in this setting and one who had visited it frequently over the years. As he reminisced:

> There was a feel one had about the old Applied Research Center, when one went by their offices and they had six or eight or ten people at most, of mixed races, in very homey quarters, talking about the substantive work they were doing. And in their conversations, unlike IAP's conversations, they just weren't so wrenching in their discussions of relationships with the sub-contractors, or problems of the deliverables, or problems of governing. Maybe they were there...but that's not the flavor that you got....You just didn't have to fear stopping by the Center before IAP. You had a sense that they were growing, increasing their confidence in a number of areas through their work in the midwest. They had won grants in nationwide competitions. It was one of the few organizations that you could send people to and feel good about the kind of help they would get. (TI, Y5)

The Federal Education Department (FED)

The Federal Education Department (FED) conceived and funded the IAP project. That story will be told in more detail later. But the FED offices housed people also intimately bound to the project, people with dreams--people with dashed hopes.[3]

The first visit to the Washington, D.C. site had a very different feel from that which was predominant at the Central City site. Contrasting to the pall of the ARC visit, the FED trip and interviews were typified by high energy conversations. Again, to a first time visitor and observer, the following narrative describes the setting.

Washington, D.C. pulsed with a central and cosmopolitan awareness. The awareness struck us as we were caught in the swirl of pedestrians and traffic and ushered by that momentum through the canyon streets of high rise apartments, government buildings and national monuments. We were filled with a sense of being where it's happening, an egocentric belief that the universe focused here. That impression was enhanced by the groups of visitors, speaking many languages, who strolled from one point of interest to the next and strained to hear from the national parks' person the highlights of the city's history. Ironically, the very vehicles that brought them to the city and lined the streets on both sides, prevented the city's own residents from seeing anything but the broad, chromed sides of the tour busses. The sense of focus or centrality was geographical only. That notion gave way to an awe of diversity as we contemplated the myriad purposes and missions of the pedestrians, their origins and destinations.

The front door of the office building which housed FED effectively refocused our thoughts on the IAP project. Passing through those doors brought us into a bustling lobby, filled with display windows which offered fabulous trips to exotic places, and people who stood in line to sign in or out on a ledger which provided spaces to write one's name, one's specific destination, and the exact time of one's visit. A large clock on the wall kept track of the time and three uniformed guards kept track of the people. The security measures served as reminders that the outside world's complexity impinged even on this small bureaucratic arm of the government.

As in Central City, elevators ascended to numerous floors but as the elevator doors opened, a very different scene presented itself. We stepped into a long hallway which divided the floor in half. An unmarked door near the end of the hall shunted us into a confusing, busy array of people and furniture. Filing cabinets seemed to be loosely clustered around desks which were roughly grouped around one or two secretaries who seemed to serve offices near them. The offices were small by executive standards but seemed adequate. A coffee machine was crammed into a narrow space along one wall near the director's office. A few chairs lined the opposing wall. There was no clear evidence that the director's office had actually been reached. In fact, we found ourselves back in the long hallway before we realized that we had gone full circle and needed to backtrack.

---

[3] Here, too, multiple perceptions and evaluations appear. Regarding this paragraph, one participant commented to our first draft: "A bit melodramatic!" Another said simply, "True'" (RDs, Y6)

We asked the secretaries the where-abouts of Joe Engleman and Rachel O'Neal but were met mostly with blank stares. We repeated the question every couple of desks and finally a secretary confirmed that we had reached our destination. We were amazed at that insularity, the relative unknownness of two individuals who we thought were relatively high in the institutional hierarchy, only two doors away from their offices. Perhaps it was a comment not on the importance of our subjects but on the cellular nature of the bureaucratic organization. A conversation that followed shortly highlighted the impression.

> OBS: You were saying that it wasn't Barbara Allen who's been reassaigned to another department or office. And your comment was something like, "Barbara and her office have moved...."
>
> Interviewee: If a person wants to go and work somewhere else and the other office doesn't have an empty position, you assign the *position* there [Italics ours]. (TI, Y5)

As strongly as the physical setting enhanced our worst fears about government bureaucracies, the bureaucrats themselves destroyed images of stiff persons with hard stares and black brief cases. To us as infrequent visitors and relative outsiders to Washington, Joe Engleman and Rachel O'Neal seemed surprisingly young for their respective ranks in the organization. Rachel, in plaid skirt and blouse and Joe with an open collar, sat relaxed and talked openly and tirelessly through broad smiles of hopes and excitement and through frowns of concern and disappointment. We had the image of each of them speaking from some latent outline which ran silently through their heads. They were obviously bright, well informed and articulate.

Their offices were side by side; whether antecedent or consequence, their minds also seemed to run parallel. As one would speak and be interrupted by message or phone call, the other would continue the sentence. We were left with the strong impression of many hours of shared thoughts and mutual decision making exchanged between them.

After the malaise so apparent at ARC, it was somewhat surprising to see the FED group moving so vigorously. The temptation was strong to assume that these men were perhaps at most inventors of ideas, turning implementation over to others. Therefore, their concern and their lives would have been touched less significantly by the events that were the IAP experience. But hours and hours of interview that followed belied that image. Theirs was a dream, an ideal. Their disappointment, bitterness, frustration and search for understanding was authentic. Particularly in Joe's words we could feel the pain the last several years has represented. If embarrassment or professional disgrace would follow IAP they would seek him, for he had been the author and monitor of the project. Yet we were left with the distinct impression that he would begin again if the opportunity represented itself.

The excitement and active pace we sensed at FED might also have been partly and accidently a function of the timing of our visit. A new and long awaited budget had been approved and disseminated throughout the larger federal bureau. The FED staff was eager and anxious to initiate projects that had been delayed by the budget. Now, the Federal Education Department was on the move again.

The Group Process Center (GPC)

The visit to Western City was the last of our spring data gathering trips and basically signaled the end of our more general orientation to the project. Several impressions of that trip remain vivid.

First, the flight was on one of the new jumbo jets. It really wasn't conceivable that that monstrosity would fly but it did and in a remarkably smooth fashion. Secondly, arrival at the west coast airport, lovely with the setting sun reflecting from the numerous ponds, lakes and rivers was made all the more spectacular by a predominance of shrubs on the surrounding hillsides which were covered by clusters of beautiful mustard-yellow flowers. We asked a stewardess what the showy plant was. At once, it was painfully obvious that she had never seen them. What cost, this jet pace? Thirdly, the remoteness of this final destination might best be illustrated by the fact that the airline servicing the last hop of our journey served a piece of salt water taffy to each of its passengers in place of the more usual drink and nuts.

That same remoteness provided Western University with a campus of remarkable beauty. It was nestled in the mountains and appeared as lush and green as any Eliot Porter photograph. The morning air was crisp and a delight to breathe. A brisk walk across the campus afforded a close-up view of the school's dark-bricked buildings and carefully planted and tended gardens. One could not help but contrast the steamy, high-rise office buildings of Central City and the bustling streets of Washington, D.C. with this incredibly beautiful, almost pastoral, setting. The offices of the Group Process Center (GPC) were contained in a converted and pleasant university building. It afforded spaciousness yet hominess to each individual working environment. Some of the staff had capitalized on this potential and created neat, attractive offices. Other offices were variously jammed or bared.

Mutuality was the catch word of the GPC and it appeared that everyone from secretary to professor worked in that spirit. It was perceptible to others, some identified that spirit as "family." For instance, a colleague from Eastern City where a large section of IAP activity was centered commented:

> I just always got the feeling that the GPC people were just--they treated each other as they were all first kissing cousins or something. And, um...and they protected each other tremendously. I don't know, Larry and Paul jogged every morning.[4] Had this wonderful relationship. And Paul had Bill for breakfast, lunch and dinner. And June was adored by everyone else. And George and his wife... and it was just like a big happy family. (TI, Y5)

---

[4] Paul commented on this quote: "I don't jog!" (RD, Y6)

The point we are perhaps obliquely trying to make with the above lengthy focus on the beauty, serenity and family quality of the Group Process Center environment is at best a speculation. But the speculation is based on our feelings in the setting, especially as compared to the affect of the other two settings already described.[5] That feeling was reflected in an aside.

> As we broke for lunch today and walked around the campus, I was thinking how I find it difficult to get into the same questioning, challenging frame of mind that was tiring but easy to maintain at both Central City and Washington, D.C. In some ways I wonder if it is related to the pleasantness and overall comfort of this place or just my own weariness. (SO, Y5)[6]

Perhaps that reflection stretches the point but it does serve to highlight the affective differences in the three sites. At GPC the environment was important to its members. The feeling of family, the mode of work they called mutuality had grown perhaps from the nature of the institution itself as well as the happenstance of its locale. GPC is a center created by the merger of many of the university's programs that were part of its Department of Education. GPC functions as an educational research center, an information processing and dissemination center and a place for the training of teachers, administrators and educational researchers. Students going through the program are frequently offered the opportunity to participate as junior partners or assistants in major research efforts. This practice alone probably accounts for much of the family nature of the organization. The children, so to speak, grow and flower, briefly take their place in the hierarchy of the institution, and then move on to establish their own reputation and place of work. Under the weight of IAP the solidity of "the family" began to crack. One member comments:

> I was reasonably excited about IAP, o.k.? I decided to put some time and energy into the writing of the initial proposal. By the end of January I was essentially out of it because of our collaboration with ARC in Central City. Because of our collaboration with Central City, because of Central City's concern for the way that they ran their ship, we were then disposed to run our ship in a similar fashion, and therefore, only people whose names appeared on a certain document could work on IAP. So here was me and two other graduate students who had done some of, a fair amount of the work during the fall, to get the damn thing. We get the money and we're told we can't have anything to do with it. (TI, Y5)

---

[5] Gradually we are pressaging our methodological position. Severyn Bruyn, for one, argues that the researcher should be sensitive to his own affect as a source of data (Bruyn, 1966). The more formal and detailed description and analysis appears in our methodological appendix.

[6] A GPC member commented on this point, "It sounds as if we are what we are because of the trees and flowers. Balderdash." (RD, Y6)

And another:

> My involvement [with IAP] then meant that I operated in a very different way than people here, at GPC, and by that I mean that I think shortly after we were getting ourselves together it was decided that because of overhead...we would play a subcontractor role, and that in time became problematic, but it meant initially for me that I was working for the people in Central City, and had nothing to do with the people who were my colleagues and were my advisors, my mentors in school. (TI, Y5)

Another member of the staff spoke in his interview constantly of the stress he experienced as a result of the project and how he couldn't remember much about it as a result. Though a primary participant in the project, his files for IAP had been moved to the hall outside his office and had been organized by one of the secretaries into a neat collection of documents and correspondence from the project, all free of any evidence of controversy. Two other comments illustrate clearly the tensions of the project generated within this organization.

> When we started the project I think there was a great deal of feeling of pride and celebration and excitement about having a project going that all of us saw had great promise, a project that had a purpose that was dear to our hearts. When I say all of us I mean the FED branch and ARC and us. And the feeling between Applied Research Center and us, at least I'm sure it was the case on our part, was that the ARC people were very close in spirit to us. We had common values and common aspirations and might be right. And so we were looking forward with a great deal of eagerness and high aspirations to the work.
>
> So there was very strong pressure because of those who had a common faith to make the project work, on my part at least, and I think some others, that got translated into meaning that if things don't go right right now, don't make too much of a fuss, be patient, it'll get sorted out next month. And as time went on and difficulties began to arise, when I faced the choice of whether to make a complaint, call things to a halt because I was worried about what was happening; then the choice that would face me would be if I raise a ruckus then do I raise the spector of dissolving the partnership and people then say, "Well, we won't do it that way, we won't do it this way so we're going to have to sever the partnership and do it some other way." In the end that's what happened. (TI, Y5)

Another member had a similar feeling and a vivid metaphor:

> I can recall the enthusiasm, and it wasn't very specific actually, when we were first starting. The prospect of taking on something as large as it was proposed or we were responding to the RFP, the prospect of being able to make the kind of statement that we hoped we could. And as I say, it wasn't very specific what that statement would look like. To be able to have the funds, to be able to do the breadth of research, I think, offered a lot of

> enthusiasm, and that feeling, that vague feeling of excitement, of anticipation became translated into more of an anxiety. A kind of a growing nervous tic that became in time a monkey on our backs, and in time that monkey grew to be a gorilla, and by the time we were finished it was the size of King Kong. And still growing. Under that weight and changing proportions, we were often confused, I'm not sure if we weren't confusing ourselves, certainly burdened by that kind of weight. Felt at the end of things, heavy and weighted down under somebody else's bidding for something that'd become a monster that we didn't recognize as anything that we had been a part of in the beginning. (TI, Y5)

An outsider to GPC, but part of the Eastern City team of IAP, speculated:

> I think IAP was a stress factor for their family, so they threw IAP out.

One of the IAP participants re-emphasized this point after reading the early draft of our report.

> A second point that came to mind, as I read your draft, dwells on this issue of stress incurred by persons in the IAP project. Recently, Paul recalled a comment that Rachel made at one of the organizational meetings in early summer of Year II. Then we were meeting at Mountain View. As part of the debriefing for that week-long conference, she remarked, "My God, what have we (FEDs) done to you!" These strains that Rachel referred to then would be experienced from then on with increasing intensity for all in IAP. Although I don't recall that we talked about this during your visit, I think it would be helpful to include information about the number of people who are leaving the profession as a result of the IAP experience. Similarly, there are others, who if they are not getting out of the profession altogether are arranging their lives so they will not ever again do work that in any way resembles IAP. Still other examples are the personal pain people experienced both in illness and prolonged recurring sickness and most especially for many of us in IAP, divorce. (RD, Y6)

And finally, in response to the question, "Will that be the end of it, then for GPC and IAP?"

> Oh, I hope so, I do hope so. I think the sooner we can...remove the IAP tatoo and throw out that old letterhead.... You know it's not our kind of style. (TI, Y5)

But the ambivalence, the early ideological hope and the frustrations of the realities are caught in another member's letter to the project officers in the Federal Education Department. The letter was written a week after the communique that IAP was to be terminated.

Dear ________

I have read your letter to reviewers of the IAP project. Good for you. I think your judgment is correct and well balanced. I agree there is a great deal that your group can learn from IAP about how not to do this sort of work, and probably a few things about how to do it.

Don't give up the ship. Your original conception of where lie the springs and supports for change is unassailably correct. As to what went wrong, I expect some of the documents we are now working on will offer some reasonable hypotheses. So I won't go into that here. But sometime before long, your group and we should compare opinions.

Don't give up the ship. Stay with the idea of analysis, implementation and development. Stay with finding organizational supports for local people doing things in their own way. Participative democracy. Supports, not directives or pressures. Not coercive schedules. You are the one bunch in the government (so far as I know) who know that changes in curricula and pedagogy are very fragile and that most fail or are vitiated without the supportive organizational environment. You know, as do few others, that new departures must constantly be renewed, and that they can only be renewed at the local level. Hold fast. Keep up the fight.

Sincerely,

______________ (PD, YS)

Such were the variety of perceptions, interview comments, and documents which contributed to our first impressions of the Group Process Center.

The Eastern City Branch

Late in the summer we made one more major trip for a set of interviews, a visit to Eastern City which had housed a large subunit of IAP, mostly a research supervisor and several field researchers who were studying innovative practices in four different sites in Eastern City. Unlike the other three trips, this one was really to a non-setting. The office had been closed, the individuals had scattered to new jobs or to advanced graduate study. Most of the interviews were held in the office of a stately old building at the School of Education of City University. Convenience dictated a downtown restaurant for one and a downtown office for another.

People were caught on the run. One came in from a vacation, another was leaving the next day. One was only able to find time at lunch, another came in for a quick supper and a long two hour interview after a long day on his new job--doing a variety of consultative assistance, a third came across town from another large community service position. One was full of joie de vive that comes with the recent passing of her Ph.D. final orals. We missed connections with another except for a phone conversation or two because she was trying anxiously to convene her Ph.D. committee, a group of busy academics--travellers, consultants, conference goers, whose schedules seldom seemed to cross in Eastern City in the late summer.

The summary notes recollecting on the trip capture some of the flavor of Eastern City.

> For over 25 years, Eastern City has intrigued, fascinated and appalled me. It seems to have the best and worst of everything in America--if not the world. Sometimes now I find myself apprehensive, frightened. It takes me a day or two to shed my provincial midwestern perspective, to tap the rhythm of the city, to internalize the freedom, the diversity, the competiveness, the outspokeness, the elbows-out-push-and-shove, the live and let live attitude. A couple of images come to mind. First, the busses and the subways all full of a new art form--unerasable felt pen ink graffitti. Neatness, tidiness and a concern for community property is not the in-perspective. It jolts the newcomer.
>
> Second, I had arrived early for my 10 a.m. downtown interview. As I sat on a bench by a fountain, across the street from her office, I watched the passing crowd. One elderly man, in a rag tag costume of a part of a discarded uniform, and an old suit coat, seemed to be executing Army maneuvers. He'd march forward several paces, do an about face, and march back. This went on irregularly for five or ten minutes. I had visions of one of Skinner's superstitious pigeons. He was oblivious to the passers-by and most seemed oblivious to him--even the picture taking tourists, not to mention the locals, pouring out of the same subway exit, from which he had come originally. They negotiated around him like basketball players hardly requiring a feint to make their way to a distant net.
>
> Third, the early evening trip across town from the last interview was graphic. He gave me a ride to the bus stop, saving me a long ride and transfer. As we drove along, the city was teeming with people on the warm summer evening, just at twilight. Cars and busses everywhere. Sidewalks and park benches full. The elderly sitting, talking, watching. The youngsters with radios blaring, coolly gliding along. The multitude of shops still open unceasingly vending fruit and vegetables, shirts and skirts and shoes, records, radios and recorders, and so on and on. Some people looked rich and some poor. Some looked Black, some looked Hispanic, some looked Oriental, some looked Jewish. Some looked male, some female. Some seemed indeterminant. Every stereotype, every category one had for sorting out people on immediate appearance comes to mind in minutes. It was overwhelming. (SO, YS)

The Eastern City Branch of the Inquiry and Assistance Project was more than an urban setting. In some regards, the personnel reflected the best of the hopes and aspirations of the total project, a concern for culturally diverse, sensitive, indigenous professionals. The leader of the group was a black female, a Ph.D. candidate at an urban university. The field researchers initially were all women--one originally from Asia, one from Latin America, one black from Eastern City, and one from Puerto Rico. Later, another Latino, a male, joined to help bolster the work in one of the Hispanic communities. At the beginning of the project, none had a Ph.D. At the close of the project, one had finished her final orals, one had a draft of her dissertation, a third had formally entered a Ph.D. program. One had not finished her bachelors degree. They represented a mix of social class family backgrounds from lower to upper class. As with most of IAP, simple stereotypes did not fit. As a group, they were perceived by their colleagues in IAP as intelligent, assertive, and with an "Eastern City confrontive style." Their colleagues, both managers and peers, often did not know how to relate to them.

Before, inbetween, and after the interviews we explored the city. We walked for hours through residential and commercial areas. Down one avenue, it seemed as though we passed through businesses representing half the countries of the world buying and selling everything from antiques to the latest in electronics, from the most expensive jewelry to the cheapest trinkets for children's party prizes and favors. The business establishments were as elaborate as high rise commercial headquarters to a sidewalk folding table only large enough to hold a three card variation of the old shell game.

We thought we had found urban America--at least a part of its surface image.

Summary of the Settings

We have left the reader with a heavy sense of foreboding having chosen to begin the story where we did, at the end. It is the point at which our research began. One reader of the first draft of the report raised an objection regarding the impact of this procedure.

> There's a real problem with when you entered the project and ARC in earnest. I know you warn the reader but I don't feel it's strong enough. It's key to the affect and perspective it gives you. The story misses the excitement, joy, hopeful anticipation, sense of worlds to explore that were part of early IAP. I know you share later in the story people talking about that but I don't think you're careful enough about stressing the way the "downness" of the end colors your and participants' reflections on early days. (PD, Y6)

3. CONCLUSION

This research tells the story of IAP, the Inquiry and Assistance Project, by placing those events within a two-fold contextualist perspective. In part, it's a historical study, a recent history of the germination of the ideas within a small department in the federal bureaucracy, its implementation of inquiry in ten urban schools, its consultative assistance in two other school districts, and finally its termination, midstream. In part, the contextualism is an attempt to trace out the complicated skein of relations among organizations, groups, and individuals, a quasi stationary equilibrium, a social system, in an urban setting or environment.

At the very least any history must describe people, events and places and must string the descriptions together in a chronicle that is as accurate as possible. To turn a chronicle into a history requires the development of an analytical interpretation. This history will recount the story of an organization formed to fulfill the mandates of a federal contract. In point of fact, the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP) was an amalgam of two widely separated organizations sponsored by a third, which in turn was a part of a larger governmental department. As we approached the writing about such an organization, its boundaries suddenly become expansive and fuzzy. When one then begins to conceptualize that organization over time and seeks a beginning point, a genesis, one doesn't know with clarity where to begin. Did IAP begin with the publication of a government RFP, a Request for Proposals? Or as an idealistic dream of university friends? Or as a challenge to leaders of two educational research organizatons?

This chapter provided an initial look at the organization called IAP and its task. It immersed the reader in the settings where IAP lived for almost five years, presenting a picture of those settings as they appeared near the end of the Project. The following chapters will proceed to reflections on the beginnings of the project and swell with people and events and such categories of ideas as determinants, components and integrators as they paraded through recent history to the project's conclusion.

Section II

A STORY OF THE INQUIRY AND ASSISTANCE PROJECT

Overview of Section II

In our view social science knowledge is both continuous with and interdependent with common sense and conventional wisdom. Nowhere is this more true than when one writes a descriptive narrative in the lay language or tries to tell a story of human action. For centuries, if not millenia, people have told stories "around campfires" and "across backfences." These have informed, altered understanding, and guided practical action of all kinds.

Over the years a variety of forms of story-telling have evolved from the simple "Once upon a time..." opening line. In recent years, multiple perspective novels such as Durrell's Alexandria Quartet and movies such as Kurosawa's Roshomon have added new dimensions to story-telling. Blends of fictional techniques and non-fiction events have produced what Tom Wolfe has called The New Journalism and what Truman Capote has called the "nonfiction novel."

In social science and education, George Homans' synthesis of a half dozen social science case studies of gangs, businesses, and small communities resulted in his classic, The Human Group. He alternated a story of a group with a cumulating set of concepts and miniature theories into a formidable abstract and general account of human groups. Kenneth Beittel, the potter, painter, and art educator, in his Alternatives for Art Education Research, developed a multi-strand conception of the narrative for reporting research in the creative processes of making art. He distinguished among a first person narrative from the perspective of the central actor, a multiple consciousness narrative which includes the perspectives of the central actor, the teacher-researcher, and several kinds of observers, and a more interpretive "literary psychological narrative" written from the vantage point of a particular social science theory.

So, in Section II we have tried for a brief narrative or story of IAP. Our story falls easily into three parts. Chapter 3 takes on the multiple elements, people and events in the Federal Education Department as the department took constructive action in writing position papers and RFPs, one of which was to result in the Inquiry and Assistance Project. Chapter 4 introduces two major organizations who were contending for the contract and who eventually combined forces and won the contract. Chapter 5, essentially using the vehicle of a series of project-wide meetings, reports on the several years of the project, its hopes, its problems, its successes, and its failure, and ultimately its termination by the FEDs.

As much as possible we have tried to tell the study in the words of the participants--from documents written at the moment and from interviews after the termination of the project. Our own continuity tends to stay concrete and tends to carry the emotional flavor which we were hearing from the participants.

We have tried hard to capture the multiple perceptions, emotions, and perspectives of the participants as they varied on every category and every dimension. Would that we could write as well as Durrell, photograph as well as Kurosawa, or paint as well as Monet.

In addition, while we were telling the story, we tried for a story that pressaged the more analytical and interpretive account of Section III. In this sense it is mostly an outsider's story (although not totally for Smith was a consultant for IAP for about half the project's life). Other stories of IAP by other participants and by other outsiders might also be told. Epistomologically we are interactionists. A story always takes a perspective, is based on data and links to one or more theoretical positions. Each domain: data, story, theory and meta-theory, impinges upon each other domain throughout the research process. The "final-final" report interates through the domains on multiple occasions. Our point here is that the story does not exist.

Chapter Three

Polygenesis of The Inquiry and Assistance Project

1. ORIGINS OF THE FEDERAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

In the early 1970s a relatively new branch of the federal bureaucracy, the Bureau of Education, found itself in the throes of reorganization. In Figure 3.1 we have located the FEDs in an oversimplified organizational chart. It indicates that IAP and the FEDs are small parts of the large governmental initiatives in Education. One reason for the restructuring was an attempt to formulate for the group a distinctive identity. The Bureau of Education had inherited from a pre-existing Department several programs, but the director of the Bureau wanted to make a firm statement about how it would view the area of dissemination and implementation. More broadly, the task was to prepare a statement about how it viewed the problem of the way research should impact on classrooms.

Insert Figure 3.1 about here

The Task Force Position Papers

The taskforce that eventually wrote a paper called "Educational Inquiry and Implementation" was led by a newcomer to the Bureau, Clifford Dempsy, the director of the Federal Education Department (FED). The importance of that paper to the main thrust of the Bureau was demonstrated by a cover letter attached to the document by the director of the Bureau.

> The enclosed paper describes a particularly important initiative of the Bureau. In many respects, the success of the FED rests on our ability to stimulate the development of an Inquiry community that is genuinely useful to educators and students, to make research results available to educators, and, perhaps most important, to recognize the role of educators not as passive recipients of Inquiry products but rather as innovators for whom research is but one resource for a continuous process of renewal and reform. (PD, Y1)

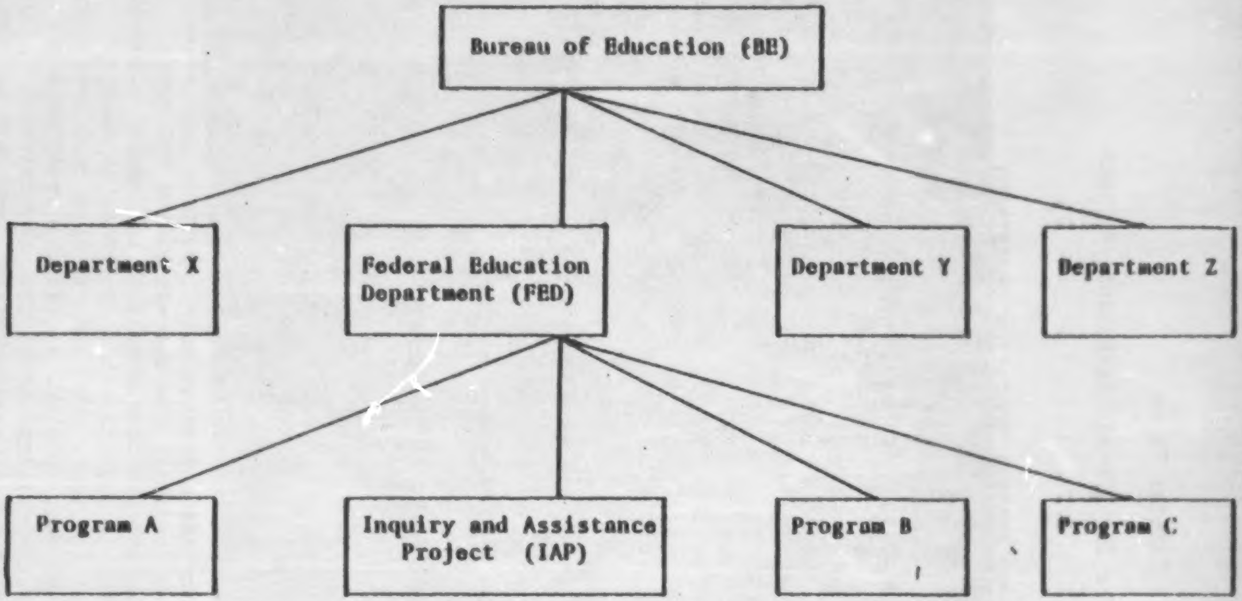

Bureau of Education (BE)
Department X
Federal Education Department (FED)
Department Y
Department Z
Program A
Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP)
Program B
Program C

Figure 3.1 A simplified orgnaizational chart locating FED and IAP in the government bureaucracy

The FED team responsible for the Educational Inquiry and Implementation paper was not an island unto itself. One of the groups asked to review the paper was the Applied Research Center (ARC).

> ...we were asked to comment on the content of it [Educational Inquiry and Implementation paper] and found that we liked it because it was consistent with the way our thinking had been going....So we commented critically because we were asked to.... But there was sort of an interesting similarity with some of our ideas coming together and jelling.... (TI, YS)

The document, then contained seminal ideas for FED but it also contained implicitly and explicitly the ideological and substantive germs of IAP. The fact that the Educational Inquiry and Implementation paper preceeded the IAP Request for Proposals (RFP) by only eight months was no mere coincidence.

The concluding chapter of the paper recommended strongly that people within the schools and school districts must be more involved in the inquiry and implementation process, that they must no longer be passive recipients of products and discoveries but become active problem solvers. Thinking retrospectively about this ultimate faith in the grounded or bottom-to-top model of research, members of FED discussed a commonality of the early group which gathered for the writing of the IAP proposal:

> There was a piece of history, before any of this, in which a number of us that had been involved in alternative schools in the 1960s had tried to create positions within those schools in which somebody could collect data and feed it back to the schools, without any notion of all of the classic ideas of survey feedback, or survey guided development or organizational development, without knowing any of the stuff that we now know there is a technology for doing.
>
> Colleagues in various places had begun to talk. The experience of doing alternative schools was so interesting and rich and frustrating that there grew up a kind of underground of people analyzing and doing alternative schools....Everybody was seeing the same phenomena at these two bit alternative schools and coming together to find that everyone was seeing the same things and trying to write it down and trying to run the schools at the same time. It was just a very strong experience in all our pasts. (TI, YS)

They further stated:

> In the overall design of the program certainly there was a feeling that we didn't want to push products on people, that we didn't want to have a massive project, that we didn't want to have our money be the reason the project existed. (TI, YS)

The stage for the drama of IAP was set. There was a need for a distinctive program that would forward the stated impetus of the Bureau. A bright group of very talented civil servants and educationists and a common ideology that would serve to guide their interaction, thinking, and writing existed at the Federal Education Department.

In addition, the early documents and the later interviews raised the seeds of what was to become a considerable questioning regarding the more standard linear RD & D, research, development, and dissemination, models. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act consolidated a variety of earlier federal initiatives and began the major federal involvement in American education. Organizations such as the "Labs and Centers" were established to enhance educational research and development. Social scientists created conceptions or models of how educational change was to come about. The FEDs as one group in the larger Bureau of Education represented then a smaller and less accepted point of view which focused on indigenous, local, practice based initiatives. In their words, at the time:

> ...we want to suggest that the paradigm of R & D used in past policy has been too narrow, and based on restrictive assumptions about how to help schools solve problems. Further, we feel a revised concept of "the R & D system" must include attention 1) to *how and by whom problems get formulated in the first place*; 2) to *what might be a range of likely resources for solving them, whether through systematic external development or some other means*; and 3) to *the organizational life of operating systems which will affect the possibility of implanting a solution to a problem*. (Our enumeration and emphasis.) (PD, Y1)

Further, in a time when many directors of curriculum R & D efforts were raising the possibilities of "teacher proof" materials the planning group at the FEDs were taking a very strong philosophical stand on the professional role of the practitioner.

> ...our analysis indicates that the role of practitioners must be conceived not as passive or unaware consumers but as professional individuals who have their own insights, goal structures, and decision roles. Further, they seem to view the external R & D community not as a provider of technological "fixes" but rather as a source of alternate goals, descriptions of problems, and options for dealing with them. (PD, Y1)

Intellectually and organizationally, the FEDs agenda was large, pervasive, and grounded in an integrated point of view.

The Cofunded Ten Settings RFP

The story of the origin of IAP continues with the FED staff in Washington, D. C.

> So we were struggling for a way of starting. We decided we'd start with change at the school building level. I had the image of a kind of parallel and sequential levels of activity where we have a strand

> at the building level, a parallel strand that would look at change at the state level. At the same time there would be ways of bringing together all that we were learning at each of these levels toward something that was in fact more comprehensive....
>
> But we didn't. We didn't feel that we knew enough. We decided we wanted to work at the building level. We decided we wanted to get out into the field quickly and learn some things and we knew that we didn't have a prescription for the best kind of mechanism or strategy that would help people become active participants in this inquiry and implementation process....So I think the point we are leading to is that we developed a notion of, "Let's find out what's out there and see what we can learn from what people are already doing...." So we thought that there were reserve tanks bubbling along out there, which we, with very marginal funds, could assist, but which mostly were going on their own steam, which had been going for a while, which would live perfectly well with or without our money and from which we could learn a lot....
>
> The task was simply to find places that you wanted to study...we put out this program announcement in April which invited people to tell the Department what they were already up to, where the Department could sort of ride along. That was the solicitation which brought us over a hundred proposals from which the ten projects were eventually chosen. (TI, Y5)

The Ten Settings proposal was sent out with a closing date of April, Y1. It signaled progress in the developing research scheme that would be IAP.

The central thrust of that scheme is caught in the program document.

> (1) Grants to practitioners. These grants will provide support to further develop and/or extend organizational models that show promise of sustaining a process of self-improvement in schools or school systems. A series of Program Announcements will be developed by the Bureau to solicit the participation of a wide variety of such organizational models. The initial Program Announcement presented in the next section will focus on organizational arrangements appropriate for facilitating sustained innovation in a single school or small cluster of schools... (PD, Y1)

The "piggy backing" of IAP on the ten settings was made clear in the next paragraph of the program announcements.

> (2) Inquiry/analysis contracts. For each series of programs supported through a particular Program Announcement within the Research Program on Strategies for School Improvement, an independent contractor will be solicited in a separate competition to document, evaluate, and perform cross-setting analyses of the programs supported by the grant. This contractor, to be selected after a final set of sites has been selected, will be responsible for:

> Documenting the development of the program at each of the funded settings;
>
> Feeding back program information to the settings;
>
> Conducting cross-setting analyses of program elements;
>
> Working with grantees and FED program officers in determining the "next steps" for the FED program;
>
> Devising in cooperation with the grantees ways of synthesizing and presenting the findings in formats and language that can be understood and used by a variety of audiences;
>
> Using these findings as part of a consultative assistance program for others interested in implementing and adapting similiar strategies. (PD, Y1)

The integrated aspect of the FEDs program was explicitly stated in the concluding paragraph.

> These tasks will be combined into a single scope of work because it is essential that they be integrated and related to the overall objectives of the Research Program; for example, the inquiry/analysis methodology should be determined, at least in part, by considerations of what information will be useful to policy-makers and practitioners. (PD, Y1)

Finally, the FEDs clearly stated the collegial, cooperative, participatory and open-ended aspects of their intentions.

> While the methodology and general requirements of the inquiry/analysis activities have yet to be defined, potential grantees must be aware of the importance to FED of these activities, and if funded, be willing to cooperate with the contractor in the collection and analysis of program data and the synthesis of that data for appropriate audiences. It is anticipated that the Department will involve the grantees in the selection of the inquiry/analysis contractor.

A staff member at FED indicates the care which went into their thinking as he describes the review process implemented to handle the proposals submitted for the Ten Cities Project.

> We made as broad a mailing as we could....We brought in 106 proposals and had a three stage process [of review]. We assigned three readers to each proposal....We supplemented our staff for this by getting four other people from other parts of the Department. We had a review sheet that was used and had three readers per proposal rating them, then arrayed the average scores and cut off...we narrowed it down from 106 to 37. Then we brought in 16 people from the outside for

> three days who reviewed the 37. A group incidentally that was virtually all school people. And then they filled out a fairly lengthy scoring sheet and also rated them. On the basis of their ratings we narrowed it down to 18 we could call finalist sites. And then two people from this office supplemented by a couple of those outsiee people visited each of the 18 for a couple of days....This was already late May or June. (TI, Y5)

Spending regulations of the FED at that time required that the entire selection procedure be finished by June 30th. The schedule was hectic to say the least.

The sites, obviously, were selected but not without contest. Members of the decision making group reflected on the process and its inherent issues. One member of FED made several relevant comments:

> We wanted some variety in the places we studied, so we didn't specify a model, and you'll see this is very open-ended. On the other hand we wanted some boundaries.
>
> ...we made two decisions. One, that the target schools had to serve a majority of students from lower income families, and second, that this particular activity would deal with urban schools. And we had just a terrible time figuring out how we could find urban schools.
>
> We went to all that trouble [the review process] because we knew we could get fooled by proposals....
>
> Although despite our misgivings...about how a lot of the projects weren't very good, I'm not convinced that in the hundred other proposals there were any better ones. So, I doubt very much whether we missed a sleeper. We continued to agonize over why this was the best we got. (TI, Y5)

Another FED officer said:

> Look at the marginal kinds of grantees we ended up with. Marginal in the sense that they were marginal to both mainstream school activity and university activity. (TI, Y5)

Still another said:

> ...there's no indication that a school district tried to tap its richest problem-solving schools in responding, and by and large, the proposals we got from school districts were wretched. (TI,Y5)

Under the pressure of time, indefinite ideas about project boundaries, and doubts about site quality and the relatedness of the final selections to mainstream movements there was still a general feeling at FED that was expressed with the final decisions:

> But I think the feeling was that we had met some very good people out there, and that there were some projects that seemed to be working.... (TI, Y5)

The feeling of closure did not alleviate the issues. The selection process resulted in a legacy which would return to haunt the FED staff.

> Unfortunately, the sheer administrative task of getting the proposals from a hundred of these places and then deciding which ones to fund drove out very much thinking about the study design into which they were to be embedded. We kind of wanted to get the places because, well, then we'd study them. But IAP is never tired of telling us, "Why did you pick these places? Why, why, why?" (TI, YS)

2. STRANDS FROM THE R & D COMMUNITY

In other parts of the country, and simultaneous to the writing and release of the Educational Inquiry and Implementation paper, there were other strands of activity underway that would eventually cross with those at FED. First, a conference on Alternative School Evaluation brought the primary actors of the future IAP organization together for the first time. Although memories differed on specifics, these participants all remembered a general consensus on research, evaluation and consultation in schools, and on the desirability of working together at some future time. An ARC person remembered meeting Larry Masters from GPC for the first time:

> Now, let me think. Rich says, and I'm sure he's right, I just don't remember, that it was his idea that we ought to get together with Larry as his group was most consistent with ours. Several of us were interested in that. I met with Larry and got to like him a lot. And felt that, you know, I really would like to work with him and we talked about that possibility. (TI, Y5)

A GPC staff person saw the meeting of staffs as planned:

> I was invited to attend a conference that was sponsored by the Applied Research Center in the summer of Y1. The dates might not always be right but I believe that it was August of Y1. It was a conference held in Central City. Anyway I was invited there because...ARC was trying to put together...was trying to design some consultative methods that would bring together some of the different ways of evaluating what was going on...I think it was with getting better feedback and helping schools focus in on problems....My hunch is (that is that we were brought together), my hunch is that the Applied Research Center people planned to have me room with either Roy or Randy Jennings or Rich Morrow. Perhaps because there was the kernel of a thought that something we were doing in our consultative efforts and their interests should come together. I believe..the thrust for this came from Randy Jennings. Randy had read some of our stuff. Let's see, by that time we had our book out, yes. Roy, in fact, I think, had our books in the room there. Randy during the meeting got me aside several times and wanted to talk about what we were doing and said he wanted to learn about our style of consultation. (TI, Y5)

That GPC member also remembered the presence of Joe Engleman, at that time a new member of the FED staff.

> Joe Engleman was there. Joe had just joined the FED office at the Bureau....Joe was brought on board at FED because, as I see it, he was in sympathy with the notion of organizational innovation. The idea that schools needed to build up their capacities and organization and behavioral capacities, to innovate....Joe spoke about some of these ideas at that meeting. (TI, Y5)

A meeting about alternative schools then, provided the setting that brought the primary actors together in one group for the first time. This was in August of Year 1 (Y1), one month before the notice of a qualifying competition was let by FED for the Inquiry and Assistance Project.

Another major strand of activity that occurred before the drafting of the IAP RFP was the annual AERA meeting. Some of the IAP participants saw conversations at that meeting as critical to the eventual shaping of IAP. An ARC staff member related the following comment:

> The first, I think the very first stuff I see in all of this was the AERA meeting in New Orleans. When was that, two years before the RFP came through....I'm not sure Rachel O'Neal was there, but Joe Engelman, Randy Jennings, myself were....And the idea came out of that of doing case studies on good demonstration kinds of projects with the idea of learning something, and then find direct ways of disseminating that kind of information out into practice. (TI, Y5)

Still another participant remembers the meeting and credits himself as a major influence in the IAP design:

> I'm trying to think where it starts. In my view I had a pretty decisive influence on the shaping of the initial IAP proposal, the ideas that were behind it and also possibly some influence on the way the RFP was written originally. I can't remember the dates on all of these things, but shortly after ARC was established...I talked with friends at AERA one time and this was at a time when I was really thinking a lot about how you could do research and structure it in such a way that you were doing research and figuring out how you could apply it later on. And I had some ideas about that and at that time I was very interested in consultative assistance as a vehicle for, both for changing schools in general and for using the results of research. (TI, Y5)

He spoke about major problems with the interface of the world of schools and the world of research, and the nature of research on innovation.

> I was convinced, based on what we had done at an alternative school, that even if you collected real good information and that you had every reason to think it ought to be relevant to people who were trying to build some kind of innovation...that it had very limited

> effect on what they were doing. Also another problem that I saw was that any time you study innovations you tend to get a very large proportion of failures and the successes are relatively few....But to a person who's trying to build a new institution, that information is of some use, but the really valuable information is information about how you can do it, rather than how it fails.

He continued with two illustrations of action based on those early thoughts shared at AERA. First, an actual research effort.

> I started a project which was funded under a grant where we worked with several alternative high schools. We did some fairly short site visits to them, about three or four days, and then we were trying to figure out how that information about what was going on in these schools, what the problems were and so on, could be made useful to the people who were involved in the schools, and I came up with this idea....The idea was to take the kind of complicated research information that we had developed and to organize it in terms of things that people did in schools, and so they could look....That they could say, yeah, that's something I could do, and then within each of these activities we began to analyze what are some things that seem to work consistently? What are some things that never seem to work at all? What kinds of skills do you need to carry these activities out? What kinds of social organization? What kind of beliefs? What kinds of commitments?... And so this concept was, when I wrote the IAP proposal, supposed to be the link betweeem the research and consultative assistance. So that's one sort of antecedent. (TI, Y5)

Second, an earlier offer to FED that was rejected.

> Another which I started to talk about...we sent an earlier proposal. We were encouraged to write a proposal that had some of these same elements that I was just discussing and I can't remember all the specifics of it. I'm sure I have the proposal some place. But the basic idea was that we would do research and then we would provide training for groups who were working directly to try to change schools. We would do research that was relevant to what they were doing and then this would feed into helping groups that were working on a local level, either with parents or teachers or whatever.... We sent it to FED and FED didn't really want it, wasn't I guess at that time ready to consider it.... (TI, Y5)

This proposal was the one referred to by other members of ARC as growing out of the informal get together at the AERA meetings. To recap: this proposal also went to the Private Foundation which was interested but had all its funds committed. Within the year, FED put out its Educational Inquiry and Implementation position paper, the RFP for the Ten Cities Project and finally the RFP for the Inquiry and Assistance Project.

3. ASPECTS OF THE IAP RFP

The Substantive Perspective

The shadow of the ending of the fiscal year loomed over the designing of the IAP project as well as the selection of the sites. The combined pressures greatly influenced the product as did the personal values and beliefs of the authors. The following retrospective quotes illuminates the ideological and intellectual context of that spring:

> Certainly there was an element of our thinking which said, "These are not six widgets that we're going to test and measure and then set before the world as something to be copied." But the metaphor which was most attractive to me when I started in the late summer was, I suppose, a combination of old social studies talk and my field research experience with experimental schools, and the goal was a good conversation. (Our emphasis.)
>
> And so when we started to think about research on the projects, of study on the projects, the study part seemed easy, just put some decent people out there to watch. And we said, "Let's try not to have it be simply or mostly scholarly research, let's see if this can't be helpful to some other people, in the metaphor of the good conversation. And so my thought was, gee, if you study ten, if you study a bunch of interesting places for three years, you'd increase your repertoire of experience so that when schools have a problem they have a much more varied set of examples to draw on for help.
>
> ...as simple-minded as some can get...that research of certain kinds could be helpful to people in other schools and a creative, talented, useful activity was to see if research which is designed to be helpful could be conducted and analyzed and presented in ways that can help people working in schools. (TI, Y5)

The random and not so random thoughts were tied together by the author of the final Request for Proposals (RFP). The staff member who filled that role described the group with which he worked that spring and related his perception of the development of the project.

> The first director of the Department had confidence in Dempsy. Dempsy brought together people whom he respected. I had been at an R & D center for two years, and Dempsy had been the deputy director of the center for part of that time, and we had a few conversations. We, I was based in the west and he was an administrator near there, so we didn't have very much contact, but he had known generally of my work, so when I came here there was a kind of general harmony of interests among several of us and an awareness of our mutual backgrounds, and things we wanted to do.

> And we just sat right down and started to think about a couple of very simple problems. Get a bunch of settings, we want to learn from them. None of us were formally trained researchers with an investment in any particular methodology and we also believed that just watching something complicated can be useful. So that's about as much research design as we ever had. Put some people somewhere to watch these places.

His thoughts shifted from what and how it should be done to what the product should be and to whom it should speak.

> And we were very concerned with who you're going to tell the story to afterwards. And again, we were not in such an academic tradition that we believed the best product would be another book by a social scientist. And that's a theme of discussion that Lou and I have pursued for a long time. I admire his work so much, and yet we have arguments about whether the book as a product is the only way to turn field research into usable insight for others. I take it Lou has a kind of generation to generation view that you build up the knowledge base slowly, and it gets transmitted through training and in a sort of diffuse way. But we were a little more hot-blooded than that, out of a lot of naive, negative reactions to things we've been part of, in the same way that alternative schools people knew that they just don't want a principal like that rotten old principal they worked under in the previous school. And so, they often do away with the notion of leadership altogether. And in our rush not to simply produce another set of volumes about projects, we had some very half-baked, in the sense of not well thought through, or not well grounded in any experience, some notions that we'd ask the contractor to build into their own organization. Like the concern for utilization which was left to the workings of the intellectual marketplace in the usual research support scheme, that is, you support the researcher. The researcher produces a product, It stands or falls on its merits, according to the beauties of the peer review publication system, which are either beautiful if you believe in them, or subject to fads and fashions and all sorts of illicit influences if you're an antagonist to that system. We wanted to put that system to one side, and to lay on the contractor the beauty of going to work with some audience, since it had been a great frustration of several of us in previous field work projects, that the audience was never clear.

He summated by recounting the old air of confidence in which the project was cast.

> So those are the essential kernels of the project, and they come directly out of personal experience and reactiveness to other forms of organizing research efforts. And because of the general confidence that flowed person to person, there was not a sense that FED had to do replication projects, and so we had to fight against an ideology of replication. There was not a sense that this was going to be a visible political piece of business which

> we had to treat in a certain way. This place has been a fantastic place to work, because while we exist in a milieu that's very political, in fact in specific projects we can treat them as we see, as we think best. (TI, Y5)

He continued in an interview to describe his final university year and recounted the story of a group that met frequently over lunch. Their theme, a dream really, was finding a way to sell themselves to a large school system as consultants or advisors. They would be employed by a university but carry the traditionally campus oriented activities into the halls of a public high school. They would carry on both applied and basic research while at the same time manage the school. They solicited districts all over the country and, eventually, some members of the group found sites and began their work.

Now, at last, within the halls of the Federal Education Department, an opportunity presented itself to design and actualize the dream. There was one alteration: writers of RFP's do not actively participate in the projects they create. They seek others to actualize their ideas.

The Cooperative Idea and Relationship

In this instance, perhaps the dream was too vivid, too close to let slip away. The FED's construed a new role or relationship between themselves as project monitors and those who would be hired to realize the mandates of the RFP. The new relationship was to be one of collaboration. A federal official commented:

> I have notes here from as early as April Y2, which was in the grand spirit of collaboration among everybody and every level of our program. Project officers, site people, research grantees, IAP and so on. (TI, Y5)

Another commented:

> And you'll see in the program announcement one of the early notions, if you look at the sections that we wrote on IAP, what we were calling observation and analysis. Here are some indicators about what the research contractors would do: document the development of the program at each of the sites, conduct cross-site analysis of the program elements...okay, the next one...working with the grantees and FED in determining the next steps for the FED program.
>
> Yeah, they would be kind of extensions of us. Devise in cooperation with the grantees ways of synthesizing and presenting the findings and using those findings as part of the Consultative Assistance program. (TI, Y5)

At ARC, a similar perception existed:

> See, there was this whole notion in their heads that we bought into, not perhaps, understanding the possible consequences, that we were going to be a pretty happy bunch. I'm talking about ARC, GPC, and FED. And that we were in a very real sense extensions of them. (TI, Y5)

Drafting the RFP

Under the FED;s direction the RFP began to take form. Even the solicitation process contained an innovation, as one member described it:

> So, in what's called RFP season, in the old fiscal year of May, June or so, when the feceral agencies have their money and have their game together and put out their stockings on the street to award contracts. There's a flurry of phone calls that goes on around the country, as people try and put together the teams to bid on contracts. And it's not uncommon, if you're kind of into the grapevine in Washington, to exchange stories about, "Oh, so-and-so is on a proposal to you? Yeah, he's on one to me too." And you hear that the few good people in a field have in effect been bid on five different projects, knowing full well that only one or two will come through, and then the person will go join another firm for the purpose of that work. And being bushy-tailed and bright-eyed, we wanted to stay away from that sort of greasy network of money grubbers, right? We were better than that.
>
> The firms know that. They want to present good people, and they know that only a certain percentage of their bids will be awarded, so it makes sense to chase around and put together a team. But, in a better sense, we thought we wanted people who had some tradition of experience in relating empathically to urban schools, in doing field research, because you can't invent a scope for that overnight, in giving help to urban schools. These are not things that you can simply become good at by hiring a collection of people, we thought. So with the advice of the head of contracts then, who was the only incumbent of that job who has ever bothered to talk to program people and try and help them do their jobs, we hit on this two stage notion where we would ask people to tell us first why they thought they were able to do a certain general kind of work. And once we had narrowed the field, we would then invite bids only from a very small subset. So we wouldn't be flooded with lengthy proposals with no hope of a successful bid. So, I said before, the first stage was preparing requests for proposals, in fact we backed it up a stage and the first event was the preparation of a request for qualifications.

He then recounted the results of the qualifying statements and the complex decision and writing process which occurred primarily because of a time crunch.

> I think we got about 39 or 40 of those qualification statements, which were read by staff, and I don't think we sent them to any outside readers, and while we were doing that review, we were finishing the writing of the RFP. It's a very real time process. You don't really know how you're going to evaluate proposals until you sit down to make up a scoring sheet. You haven't thought through all the way to the end of the project, and the kinds of products you want, and what that would mean in terms of bidder's qualifications. You sort of work step-by-step, day-by-day on the tasks that present themselves on that day. So we first wrote a

> little statement of what we wanted in the request for qualifications, kind of global, and that gave us a start. You play that back to yourself and you say, "Hmm, okay, that sounds good." Then you start writing an RFP, and you have to put in a section on review of proposals, and you start thinking, "Well, what does this really mean to a bidder?" So it would have been good to have thought through very clearly the bidder's qualifications while writing the RFP. It didn't work that way.
>
> So we wrote the RFP while we were reviewing the qualification statements. And I would write drafts, circulate them to this committee, ask for their comments. And we went through a number of drafts. (TI, Y5)

From this flurry of activity the RFP emerged. Six tasks were delineated as major components of the study. Informally, they were described by an FED staffer:

> We basically broke the work down from those two global sections [inquiry and practice] into some sub-elements: 1) do some field research in site A and site B and site C, 2) think about issues that go across those sites and try and collect your thoughts, 3) go to work with some others who might be interested in hearing about this, 4) take a look at what difference it made to those new folks that you were around with all these songs to sing, 5) help FED from time to time, because you're going to be knowing so much that we can use in lots of other ways, in our program planning, and 6) this is kind of a fascinating enterprise, please keep track of it while you do it. (TI, Y5)

The Open-Ended Mandate

To permit those who would eventually carry out the project maximum flexibility and opportunity for creativity, FED decided not to specify exactly the nature of the final products or "deliverables." Instead, FED decided to ask for plans.

> ...the final report would, in a sense, be here's what this experience means, or more general hopes of learning from experience and assisting people to grow in organizations. And the big product was the people making sense out of the overall experience, after having done it. In the short run, because we didn't want to specify all the details of how to do this work, we wrote in a whole series of plans as deliverables.... (TI, Y5)

But the plans became an issue of trust. A FED officer said:

> IAP has complained mightily from day one about plans, and has never seen them as chances to express the developing intellectual substance of the set of people. They've always been afraid that we wanted to see a day-by-day, breath-by-breath prediction of what every staff member was going to do, which they would be held accountable for in some cosmic audit at the end. Did you draw breath number 94 when you said you were going to do it?

In their own defense he continued:

> Partly when we wrote the RFP, keep in mind that we had no idea who we'd end up with, the panel was an unpredictable quantity, and could have saddled our program with a contractor in whom we did not have total confidence, so you want to be able to, you want to write the specification in such a way that you're going to be able to check as things go along, how they're going and where they're going...and maybe we should have waived a lot of those plans, documents, as we began to see how dysfunctional they were. We asked for monthly and quarterly reports, but basically we said, "After you've been around for a while, tell us what you're doing in your research." (TI, YS)

The plans may have been perceived in the end differently than they were intended because of FED's decision to write the proposal as a contract instead of a grant. As a member of FED recalled:

> I don't think we ever had much discussion about what legal instruments you use. There was going to be a contract, okay. In order to award a contract one must specify the services that the government wants to purchase. A contract is an agreement binding on both parties where one...there is a specification of what is to be done. Another party agrees how it will be done, and there is a price and delivery schedule agreed on between them, and there are legal remedies on both sides for change of the specifications, for breach of delivery, and those are all spelled out in general conditions of government contracts, in HEW contract rules, and in special provisions which can be added uniquely to contracts one by one. (TI, YS)

With this definition of the contractual system, it is understandable how the plans might have been construed as restrictive. FED, in the end was aware of the benefits and inherent problems of that system but also aware of their own restrictions. As an official put it:

> But the contract is a very strict legal instrument. Nothing outside of its terms is comprehended in it. It specifies roles for people to play. It specifies what you do if you can't agree, and to some people, that degree of specification feels like a violation of preferred, personal working autonomy. To other people it seems like a beautiful tool to limit the ambiguities of life. Roy, I think, has increasingly felt that we should not have contracted with them, that we should have treated this as a research grant project in which they would agree to carry out some general purposes as they saw best, and we should not have had the degree of involvement with them, which is not totally inevitable, but more inevitable with a contract than with a grant relationship. On the other hand, I don't think he is willing to credit the fact that the federal government will probably never give a 4 1/2 million dollar grant to anybody. Sure, we give hundreds of millions of

> dollars to states for social service programs through grants. But this Bureau would probably not turn over that much money without some of the same kinds of planning and reporting requirements that Roy finds difficult in the contract. We could not turn outselves into a loose grant relationship with that size of money. (TI, Y5)

No matter the debate, the RFP was written as a contractual proposition. The desire to permit flexibility and allow for creativity probably complicated the task of generating and defining the nature of the deliverables. The resultant vagueness left a wealth of unanticipated consequences. One, the trust issue, was already mentioned. A second, according to one participant became the project's "albatross."

> So there were six tasks that were spelled out in the scope of work and the products were left very open-ended, for a piece of work of this size. As an afterthought, another irony of IAP history was the enormous hold the case studies had taken over people at all levels. Case studies were an albatross for the project, or a proud accomplishment for some people. But they just ballooned. They're the one thing that people can hang on to, with any confidence, and know the boundaries of the work, and so they're it. But we stuck the case studies in, I think at the last moment, because somebody said, "Well, my God, you're going to do all this work in these sites and nobody's ever going to write it up?" Said, "Yeah, somewhere along the line they ought to write up each site, site by site." So we sort of stuck in case studies.
>
> IAP never believed that. But we thought that the products were going to be about multi-site issues in some forms that would help people in other places, all sorts of forms that we couldn't even imagine.... (TI, Y5)

Added to these complexities was the fact that the author of the RFP had never written an RFP before. In his own words:

> ...the first task I faced when I came here was, you know,...the writing of the specification for the work. There had been a little bit of drafting here and there, but basically I started fresh, and I had never written an RFP in my life. RFP is an acronym for Request For Proposals. And basically in there you set out the nature of what you want to do, and the process by which the applicant must demonstrate the fitness to carry out the task, so you write a draft scope of work. Scope of work is a technical term for what it is you want done. And you put that in the request for proposals, and you invite the people to bid to do that, and to indicate the amount of money, and the staff and all of that necessary to carry it out. And they're to present a proposal for the substance and a proposal for the business side, so you get two documents. (TI, Y5)

His RFP was reviewed and received excellent comments which may satisfy the reader that FED had accomplished its task well. But there is additional complexity even here. Again, an FED officer stated:

> The Department at that time had a procedure for internal peer review and specifications. So we were obliged to establish a committee to be approved by the deputy director, which would track our procurement from the very beginning through to the award, which would review the specifications, which would participate in the review of proposals, and which would officially concur in and almost make the final decision about the award.
>
> We had some trouble with that committee, because there were some diverse views about how to conduct research. But as you can imagine, there's not a big incentive for people in other offices of the Department to be nasty to their colleagues in different offices. What's in it for them? And so somebody is a survey freak, and thinks we're crazy to do field work. Well, you know, live and let live, because we're going to be on his panel next week, right? And it's an interesting historical footnote that that process has fallen by the wayside. It does not work well, does not provide for peer review in an effective sense.... (TI, YS)

Having fallen by the "way side" or not, the point is the RFP was reviewed and no significant alterations were suggested. The RFP was printed and mailed. The die, to a large extent, was cast.

4. SUMMARY

In a later chapter, we will move more analytically and interpretively across this story line. For the moment it is important to know:

1) The Federal Education Department, the FEDs, was a new department within the larger Bureau of Education.

2) A new, young, bright, eager staff was gathering and developing position papers and RFPs which would guide their R & D activities over the next few years. Their work was well received by their colleagues and superiors.

3) Three key clusters of ideas appeared in three major documents: (1) the task force position paper which gave them a general identity; (2) the co-funded ten innovative settings RFP, the competition, and the awarding of contracts, and (3) the IAP project, an RFP, a competition and a selection of a winning bid.

4) The ideas at FED were in the general currency in the R & D community at the universities, in AERA and specifically at ARC and GPC.

5) Independently ARC and GPC were pursuing their own agendas and beginning a round of preliminary contacts with each other.

6) Concerns and ideas about, and experience and action within the Alternative School movement across America provided an interesting commonality among a number of the major participants.

7) The RFP for IAP had several unusual if not unique qualities: substantively, an interesting cut into the interdependency of theory, research and practice, in education. Its mandate was open-ended and evolving. Finally, the FEDs sought a continuing collaborative relationship with the group winning the contract.

Such was the historical context of the Inquiry and Assistance Project.

Chapter Four

Building the IAP Organization

1. THE EARLY EVENTS

Printed and mailed, the Inquiry and Assistance Project RFP was received by individuals, groups, and organizations across the country. It generated considerable activity at the Applied Research Center (ARC) and the Group Process Center (GPC) and livened old discussions of possible collaborative efforts. Our interviews caught much of that part of the story.

> ARC Leader: Okay. I guess the next thing that hit us was the announcement for the Ten Cities proposal and it came at a bad time for us. We were considering very seriously applying for that.
>
> OBS: As one of the settings?
>
> ARC Leader: Yeah. As one of the ten sites. And it came at a bad time and we didn't see how we could respond, and in that it also announced, or mentioned the big RFP. And that perked our interest. We had a quick, whatever our group was, the planning committee, discussion about it. ...but there's some interesting interpretations of that. Morrow sees that there was great debate and had concern and questions about it--if we should do it. My perceptions of it wasn't really as strong as that. And there were some leadership issues. Several of us felt pretty sure that we ought to do it. Working it through the loop; it was a massive effort and it took almost all of my time during that fall I think. (TI, Y5)

> GPC Leader: Then the IAP RFP came out and there was a conversation between Roy and me and I don't remember who initiated it. A phone conversation. In which we said, "By golly, this may be exactly the sort of thing," this is the gist of it as I recall, "Exactly the sort of thing that might be something we could collaborate on." There's the deep study of a couple of sites in it, getting imersed in a couple of sites and we were at that time really looking to anthropological methods more than the survey methods, to study what's happening with sites with regard to local progress. And moreover, there's an intervention aspect to it, so it kind of brings the two worlds that we were in microcosm discussing at that August (I think it was in August of Y1) event. It brings them into one project and by golly the people that wrote this thing really know what the hell they're doing because it's a five-year plan. They don't expect this thing to happen overnight...its really a neat bringing together a lots of things we've been thinking about when

> we roomed together. Then we decided that, "Well, let us react independently, compete at the first level to show that our institutions are capable of doing this." (TI, Y5)

> Member of ARC: We agreed that we ought to talk about it with each other very selfishly, in terms of what's in it for each organization. We thought we should think about problems we saw in the collaboration and, you know, I think we approached it probably as reasonably and as openly as we could. Those conversations were good ones. It's very good and easy to work with Larry. We agreed, I think at that point and I think it was a good strategy. I think we were far enough along with our own qualifying proposal that we said, "Hey, the best strategy is for each of us to go independently through the qualifying stages, see what happens, and then make a final decision. If one of us gets in and the other doesn't then we can talk about that and if we both get in then we can talk about that." So we said, "Let's wait and submit it after we hear about that." We both got in. We had made pretty much of an agreement that we were going to go together when we went...okay. (TI, Y5)

ARC's and GPC's plans were viewed by a FED member in the following way:

> Randy Jennings had invited Larry to a conference to go over a paper that they had written about their experience consulting and evaluating an alternative school in the midwest. He had been very impressed by Larry's comments and by the long tradition of work at Western City which he thought ARC should know about. They both bid independently in the qualification stage of the competition to pick the research contractor. When it became clear to them that they probably couldn't win separately, they combined their proposal, under a pink fog of harmony [emphasis ours].
>
> OBS: Were they asked to do that?
>
> Member of FED: No. They decided to do that. (TI, Y5)

The pace at both ARC and GPC became frantic from the moment the Ten Cities Proposal was released. Both organizations considered bidding, only GPC actually did. Both responded to the IAP qualifying competition document, both were accepted and then each resubmitted their separate proposals. As the previous quotes illustrate, both ARC and GPC were informally negotiating a joint proposal. These activities were congested further by trips to Washington and the lengthy meetings there.

Perhaps the most exhausting of those trips came after ARC and GPC qualified independently and were invited along with seven other finalists to be interviewed by each of the ten project sites. If one considers the 8 X 10 matrix this selection process generated and its resultant 80 two-hour sessions, one may more fully appreciate the frantic pace of all those in the competition. In this pandemonium the decision was made to merge the ARC and GPC proposals. That process was reflected on in interviews at each of the organizations. A GPC participant recalled:

> So we sent in these separate proposals, and both of us qualified and then I can't recall whether we, again, I'm not sure who initiated the call, whether it was from ARC to say let's collaborate. And it was pretty much my role in the center here to persuade, only it wasn't hard to persuade, others who were working with us that this was a good action and that we should do this. Because I had been the one that made the contacts for that alternative school meeting I was the one who knew the ARC people.
>
> So, and that's, I guess that's been fairly typical in our relationship, that I've been the one to make most of the contacts in the field, in the schools and other research groups to collaborate with them....We got together, and I don't recall though, whether there was a face-to-face meeting or if it was just over the phone, but the primary actors were Roy, Randy, Rich, Paul and Larry. And that in a way comes back to haunt us later in IAP, because you see there are five white males that wrote it all....I remember spending all day Saturday and half of Sunday here, we had even some of the secretarial staff working on it to get the thing in. We had elaborate mail exchanges set up between Central City and here to get the things dove-tailed. (TI, Y5)

An ARC participant reflected on the same event:

> And then, I wrote a draft of--I can't remember, maybe the first 70 or 80 pages of the proposal itself and then that was sent to GPC and they revised it and they added a lot of their own stuff. And then, there were the responses to questions, and I wrote most of that. So...I think that a lot of the ideas in the proposal were--reflected my attempts to develop a way of dealing with this problem that I've been trying to work on in a variety of different projects. How do you take research information and translate it into a way of working with people that's useful and....So the ideas in the proposal were pretty much my attempt to deal with that question, and then, also in the proposal were GPC's ideas....So that the final proposal wasn't just a reflection of me. It was a reflection of a number of their ideas too. And also, I think that clearly a lot of the ideas in the proposal were a reflection of work at the alternative school. (TI, Y5)

In an amazingly short time a 205-page joint proposal was developed and mailed to FED; it included an additional one and a half-inch thick appendix. The document began with a chapter entitled, "Combining Strengths: Two are Better Than One." This chapter was the official line that an officer of FED referred to as "the pink fog of harmony." It included the following section.

Benefits of Combining Center Resources

> Even independently, the prospects of each center effectively executing this five year project are very high. The essential reason for this is that the integrated design for improving local inquiry and implementation as conceived by FED is virtually identical to the basic designs employed in the past work of both centers. But the magnitude and complexity of this comprehensive

> project require a large, well-integrated and competent action-research team. Our final decision to collaborate, therefore, was reached largely for two reasons: (1) the two centers have an almost ideal balance of similarities and contrasts that can be rationally applied to the diverse tasks of this project; and (2) the leadership cluster of key ARC and GPC personnel has been able to build a well-integrated, cohesive team in an unusually short period.
>
> In terms of intercenter similarities, both centers have established themselves nationally for school improvement strategies based on analyses of the school as a complex social system. Both have been on the forefront of the development of practical consultative techniques for helping schools to solve their own problems more effectively. Both have worked intensively in urban schools in such cities as: Berkeley, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Eugene, New York, Oakland, Philadelphia, Portland, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. Both centers have sought to expedite comprehensive action research endeavors involving knowledge production, materials development, and dissemination through face-to-face consultative assistance. In short, both share a philosophical base and a set of concrete experiences that are congruent with the requirements of this RFP.
>
> Some differences that distinguish ARC and GPC also strengthen the capacity to carry out the proposed tasks of this project. The centers' different geographical locations enhance their relationships with the ten funded sites as well as with a host of user schools. ARC has approached systemic change in urban schools primarily through attempts to help school people implement specific substantive innovations, such as the use of the community as a site and resource for learning. In contrast, GPC has focused more on helping schools strengthen their group processes so that the personnel can more effectively solve their own problems and rationally adopt, adapt, or reject instructional innovations. While ARC has maintained a strong empirical thrust, gathering wide experience with ranges of critical activities and features of school organizations that have effects, GPC has taken a larger portion of time sketching out theory as a guide to school consultants. Finally the two centers have only partially overlapping contacts with relevant resource people throughout the country, thus strengthening their overall ability to do high-quality work at every stage of this project. (PD, Y1)

In the same chapter, writing about themselves, the authors of the proposal stated:

> Each is sincerely committed to more humanistic skills, norms, and structures within schools. Each has been trying to build new and effective strategies for facilitating organizational innovation in schools. Each views this RFP as a single, best opportunity during the history of federal support for educational improvement to combine these values, skills, and professional interests into one major effort. In our own thoughts, "this one puts it all

together." And, perhaps most importantly, all in a very short time have become devoted to one another. Their cohesiveness should not be underemphasized. Their value commitments and substantive interests are matched only by the quality of *esprit de corps* among them. (PD, Y1)

2. EARLY SENTIMENTS OF OPTIMISM AND INTELLECTUAL EXCITEMENT

Even now, after the fact, members of the IAP team remember aspects of that aura of good feeling and intellectual excitement.

> I responded very favorably to them [ARC] as people, I especially like their reform attitudes about schools and that they're not extreme radicals about them and realistic reformists, the way I saw them. And they were in the urban setting and I felt a slight inferiority-relation to the urban schools being in Western City. I had been a consultant in Boston before and did some stuff for urban schools, but the stereotype that I was feeling out of them and from others in the profession was, "Well, you're in Western City, hell, you know, you haven't really got, you haven't been in the trenches yet."
>
> So I was looking for something in connection with an urban group. My belief is that at the other side of things, that Roy and Randy and Rich, particularly Randy, but to some extent Roy, were thinking, "By golly, we need to hook up with some people that are fairly knowledgeable and sophisticated about interaction. We've got these desires to do it but we don't know a lot about it, and here's a group that's been doing it for a while...." (TI, Y5)

The early optimism and cohesiveness extended to FED as well. A GPC member reflected his impressions to us.

> OBS: So IAP looked like a natural and logical place to go.
>
> Member of GPC: That's right. Yeah. And from meeting Joe and, I'm trying to remember if I knew Rachel O'Neal yet, I think I did because Rachel was in Boston I think in Y1. Knowing the sort of cognitive maps that those people used, Rachel and Joe especially, about schools and any relation to this multi-problem solving concept. It looked like a really logical place for us to try to put ourselves. We'd try to get the money and we'd collaborate.
>
> I think, there was a sort of ideological connection among us at that time, among the FED, the ARC and the GPC people because it was a, like there aren't a lot of people who are in the world with a social science education. We wanted to combine these research methods with the integration methods and we had this perspective that it's at the grass roots we need to turn to first--always fighting these terrible hierarchical people....
>
> I don't know if those things were ever directly said, but in my mind they were there. It was a culture bringing us together.
>
> OBS: Kind of a common ideology? Things that you could share?

> Member of GPC: Yeah. And I was appealed to very strongly, now it may not appeal to me very strongly now, as it turns out I was naive about seeing some of the bureaucratic and organizational complexities that can arise when you try to get a major project going based on some ideological connections and, you know, not a lot of other kinds of, well you know, structures. But I mean there's a lot of complexities that arose later, but at that time I was not anticipating. (TI, Y5)

As in a Monet painting, fog or mist can soften edges and unify elements of a landscape, but it can also conceal and distort reality. Retrospectively, several FED officers reflected on this other aspect of "the pink fog of harmony."

> Member #1 of FED: When it came to working together, it was clear that the GPC staff was mostly white, lived in a faraway place, had no credentials in city stuff, had an ideology of sharing and harmony and consensus, all of which was at odds with the ARC's self-image as urban and non-traditional, cutting loose from established dogmas of various sorts, conflictual, confrontive, not assuming harmony, willing to fight--now in Central City why that stance gets rewarded is beyond me, but that's the way they saw themselves.
>
> Another strand of the difference is the more or less formal approach to research. Paul Brown is an extraordinarily sophisticated, very experienced researcher, has written methodology texts that are cited and read widely, although he hides it beautifully beneath an exterior of total loose-hung style that belies what he knows.
>
> Rich Morrow representing the Central City approach to research believes in, was trained to be an educational field worker, punching along, making it inside as best you can out of what you've seen. And he's very good at it. But ARC saw itself as a grounded theory operation, and GPC just had a, I would characterize it as a more relaxed, yet much deeper and richer sense about research than ARC. ARC. was a little thin on research. Rich Morrow doesn't have a lot of experience. He's very good. and Randy Jennings, who was with the team in Central City, and contributing to the intellectual side of the Center had no explicit ideology of research, was as eager to be an activist as a researcher, and so ARC vs. GPC got to be pre-specified vs. strategy approach to research. ...some of the early tasks of developing questions for site researchers and code books for data and so on, turned into monumental arguments between Rich Morrow and Paul Brown that I've never heard very much about. (TI, Y5)

An interview which pressed the FED staff on this hindsight went this way.

> OBS: What about that original pink cloud that they shrouded all of this in? You talked very lucidly and clearly about why they couldn't get together. Where was that knowledge when they made their contract proposal?
>
> Member #2 of FED: We asked them about that and they had some very persuasive answers, and they said that each organization had strength and you needed strength and experience, and that this was a very

complicated project, and that no single organization had the experience...that two organizations with the same outlook and basic values could. And that they were bringing into this merger some real strengths and what we were buying was the best of two organizations, each with its own strengths and experience, into a working whole.

They said that not just organizationally, but personally they were looking at the merger as kind of a next stage in personal growth. So Randy could say, "I've done X, Y and Z but, boy, I've got a lot to learn from Larry Masters." (TI, Y5)

Member #3 of FED: And Masters had been saying for years, "I want to get into more real situations in cities." ...so there wasn't just rhetoric, I mean, there was believeable quality, and there was some history that in fact supported their claims that this was the next logical thing for their organizations to do.

And when compared to the possibility of some abstracted, white-coated, clipboarded research group, with a thermometer to put in the mouth of the school district, what fun is that? I mean, why not pick some people who at least have done something, and have some commitments, rather than another contract job group of which a great many applied, some of the biggest and best firms in the country. Consider the alternatives, I'm saying. This looks like a good bunch, and why not back them. ...I remember the discussions about well, you know, you'd get a product from X, but would you want it?

And so, in a way we couldn't ask your question at that time. I mean, look at the information that the people had, we made the best choice. (TI, Y5)

3. SUBSTANTIVE ITEMS IN THE PROPOSAL

Substantively the ARC-GPC joint proposal was a thorough document. It responded to all of the RFP's mandates with elaborate strategies. Chapter One provided the collaboration rationale. Chapter two presented the newly joined organization's views about the role of theory in research, firmly establishing their bias for developing practical conceptualization from direct experiences in the field. They labeled this style grounded theory and placed it in the Glazer and Strauss, Malinowski tradition. From their organization's previous work, ARC and GPC identified "key concepts," a framework which included 46 projected relevant concepts, a set of trial schemes which tentatively related the concepts and lastly, plans for developing mini-theories about organizational innovation and change based data. These mini-theories were to provide effective guidelines for assisters in other change related projects.

Chapter three of the proposal addressed the implementation of work plans to meet all of the required tasks outlined in the "Scope of Work." Briefly, this chapter reaffirmed ARC's and GPC's faith in the research strategies of Glazer and Strauss, offered suggestions about assessing the impact of the ten funded sites, and described the proposed staffing for the project. It concluded with a discussion of the problems the planning group perceived as possible encounters in the project. It can be speculated whether this list of problems was generated from a knowledge gleaned from past experience, was a product of accurate projective thinking or became the basis for self-fulfilled prophesy. Speculation aside, the list remains an impressive forshadowed scenario of many of the IAP obstacles. The list contained warnings about (1) unintended side effects of the research team on the funded settings, (2) the difficulty of developing a trust based relationship with the sites, (3) breakdown of communication between the field researchers and members of the project team located primarily in the GPC and ARC offices, (4) lack of focus in the study, (5) premature application of setting data to assistance targets, (6) inability to link the data to the consultative targets, and (7) disruptive influence of funding on the funded site's life cycle.

Chapter four was entitled "Management Procedures" and contained literally yards of flow schemes which systematized and priortize the tasks required to actualize ARC's and GPC's plans. The elaborate flow chart was followed by a detailed series of tables which identified a task, indicated its starting date and projected a completion date.

Finally, the proposal concluded with a chapter that capsulated the experiences of each organization and related those experiences to the work planned for IAP. The proposal was submitted in November of Y1.

FED responded favorably. An ARC leader recalls:

> Okay. We got called by Joe Engleman and with GPC monitoring the call and Cliff on it, essentially saying that I'm pleased to inform you that ARC is in a competitive range. I said, "What? Competitive range?" We'd never done a contract before. "What does that mean?" Joe said, "Well, we have a series of questions that we will call you about on the phone tomorrow in a conference call and read you the questions...and then we ask you to respond in writing to those questions." [Roy said], "You mean we're going to do more work?" (TI, Y5)

More work meant responding in detail to 21 questions listed by FED. The ARC-GPC response was submitted on December of Year I to FED and contained 134 pages plus a lengthy appendix. The director of ARC finally near the end of December of Y1 in what must have been an air of exhaustion received by telephone the final green light.

> We got a call...telling us that we won it and could I come to Washington December 24th to sign the contract. So I said, "Yeah, I'll come to Washington." And we were really excited about this. We were just out of our heads. We called Larry at GPC and they went out of their heads. Anyhow, I went to Washington, D.C., flew down the day before Christmas, signed the contract and brought it back....Clifford Dempsy of FED and I have talked once or twice about that phone call. I don't remember it, but he said when he told me, I guess he was the one, he said that what I said was, "Wow!" And the thing I remember feeling from that phone call was my life is changing, I don't know how, but it sure as hell is changing. (TI, Y5)

There was no time for the new collaborative project team (from now on called IAP) to sit back and enjoy their victory. Their projected time line showed a determination to have all site researchers hired and in place by March of Y2. (The RFP actually stated the deadline would be February of Y2.) IAP had given itself sixty days to become operational.

4. IAP AS AN ORGANIZATION

Complex and Part Time

In addition to the need for site researchers, many other key positions in the IAP organization were vacant. Figure 4.1, "Project Staff Organizational Chart," shows the intended nature of the organization and the vacancies as of mid-December, Y1.

Insert Figure 4.1 about here

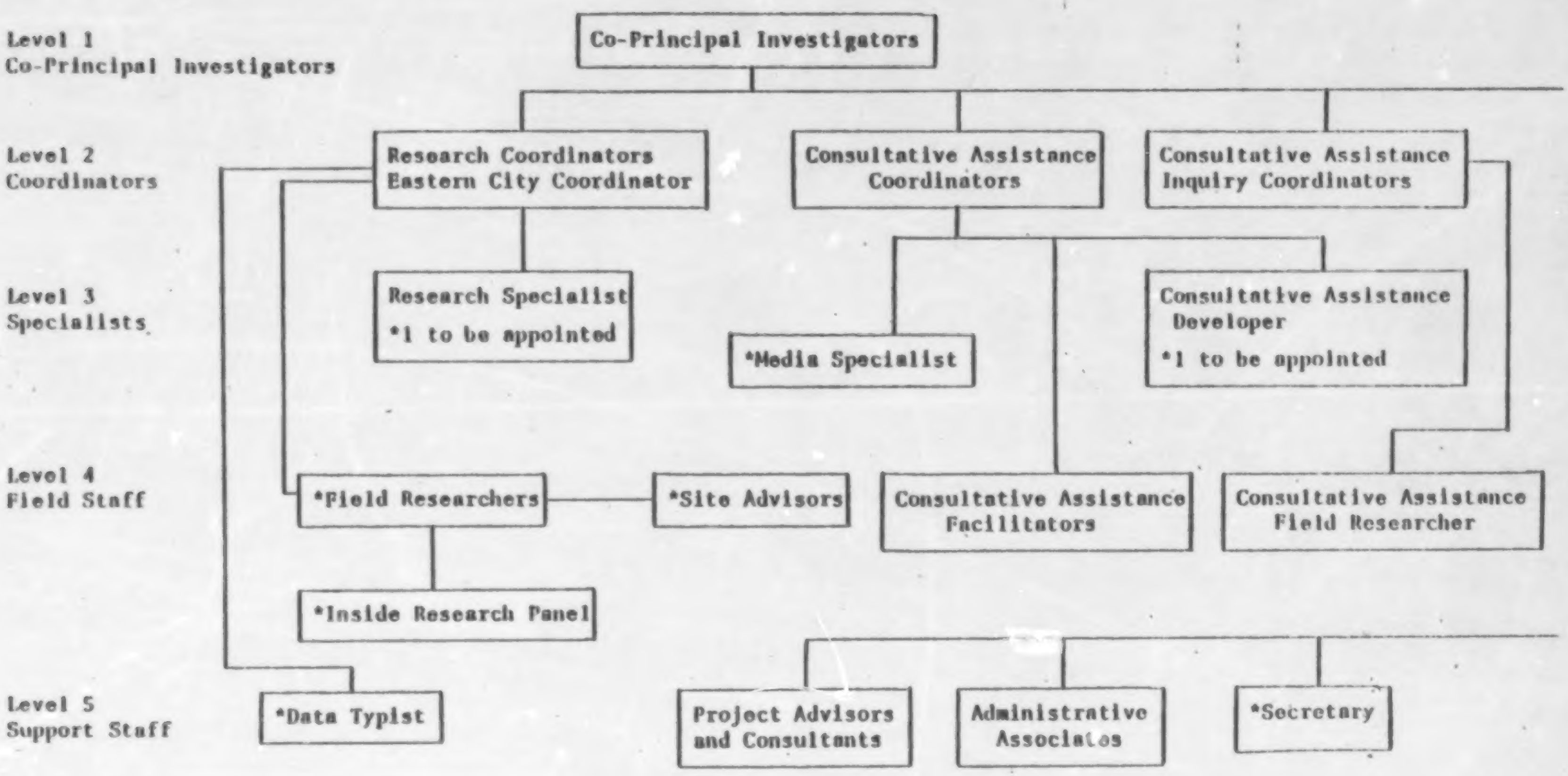
FED reflected their serious concerns about the nature of the staffing in one of their last rounds of questions prior to the award of the contract. Part of question one read:

> In view of the fact that *none of the key staff are proposed for completely full-time assignment*, and in view of the *division of responsibility between two groups separated by both physical and and some intellectual distance*, and in view of the *lack of experience managing a contract effort as large and complex as that proposed*, it will be of the greatest importance that the offeror clarify the management plan and present the management experience as clearly and completely as possible for the FED reviewers. [emphasis ours] (PD, 12/Y1)

FED's question reflected three serious areas of concern: (1) the absence of any full time personnel in the group thought of as key staff, (2) division of labor between the widely separated parts of the organization, and (3) the relative lack of experience of either ARC or GPC with very large and complex efforts.

IAP's response to these points involved restatement, in some cases more specific expression, but not re-thinking of the plan. The reply to the first point (that of full time staff) was a chart that listed the percentages of time staff members would work on the project. It appears (see Figure 4.2) that the FED's warning went unheeded.

Insert Figure 4.2 about here


Level 1
Co-Principal Investigators
Co-Principal Investigators
Level 2
Coordinators
Research Coordinators
Eastern City Coordinator
Consultative Assistance
Coordinators
Consultative Assistance
Inquiry Coordinators
Level 3
Specialists
Research Specialist
*1 to be appointed
*Media Specialist
Consultative Assistance
Developer
*1 to be appointed
Level 4
Field Staff
*Field Researchers
*Site Advisors
Consultative Assistance
Facilitators
Consultative Assistance
Field Researcher
*Inside Research Panel
Level 5
Support Staff
*Data Typist
Project Advisors
and Consultants
Administrative
Associates
*Secretary

*'s indicate vacant positions

Figure 4.1 Project Staff Organizational Chart

ARC STAFF

POSITION	% TIME ON PROJECT
Co-Principal Investigator	60
C.A. Research Coordinator	26
Research Coordinator	54
C.A. Developer Specialist	62
Research Specialist	20
Media Specialist	100
Eastern City Research Coordinator	100
5 Field Researchers	100
C. A. Field Researcher	50
Data Clerk Typist	100
Data Typist	30
Administrative Associate	95

SUBCONTRACT WITH GPC

POSITION	% TIME ON PROJECT
Co-Principal Investigator	80
Research Coordinator	80
Research Specialist	5
Grad. Research Asst. (2 half-time)	100
Administrative Associate	20
C. A. Developer Specialist	100
5 Field Researchers	100
C. A. Field Researcher	50
Project Advisor	4
Secretary	100

Figure 4.2 Phase I Positions and Projected % Time on Project

Hiring Procedures

FED accepted this answer and the restatements that addressed the other issues. IAP began the race to fill its ranks. The feeling even then was summed up in a remark caught in the field notes.

> ...as Roy said, they came off of that final 8 X 10 interview process so tired and so worn out and so delayed in hiring field workers that from the very first they were behind, and they've never caught up. (SO, Y5)

An additional, immediate pressure was constructing the sub-contract for the GPC group. Roy Taylor worked on that task for the first two weeks of January which slowed early site visitations and hiring processes even further.

The Growing Agenda of Problems

The staffing process, first and perhaps most dramatically, impinged on the idealistic glow which cloaked the IAP planning group. Hiring staff thrust upon IAP the realities of the world in which they chose to work. Reflections of those hired and those hiring will vividly highlight a half-dozen problems which emerged singly or in combinations.

First, a member of the ARC staff addresses the problem of hiring qualified staff.

> The hiring of Sara Carlton and that's another big story that became a major project of mine. I went to...scouring Eastern City for possible candidates. And we had I would guess 70 applications. I went and interviewed for a two or three day period, got it down to six and then Rich and Roy and Joe interviewed the finalists. ...we got it down to Sara, feeling that she had some definite weaknesses in the research area, she hadn't done much research, and that we would have to find a way to help her. But that in terms of all the other candidates, she was the best. We had to make a decision and she had the kinds of skills we needed...and we thought she probably would work well. And that decision was pretty much a consensus. Note that Joe at the FED was there. ...I think very, very seriously about this part about Sara, feeling she's the sort of the best we could do in the circumstances and we're going to have to prop her up in terms of research.... (TI,Y5)

Second, and again an ARC member, reflects on the commitment of ARC to hire minorities and an early leadership conflict on the issue.

> There was, I think, one position and Larry wanted to fill it with June and her husband, Jerry. This is really fairly interesting and important--just some of the whole leadership stuff--developed around that position. And I had insisted, and that may be a problem, but I felt very strongly here,...and insisted that Larry interview--that one of the staff positions he was filling would have to be a black. He wanted very much, partly because well Larry's sort of funny. He's a funny guy, you know....But the position he took and I'm not sure

> how much he really insisted, that it should be June and her husband and June and he were a good team, they wanted to work together. I said...I thought that whole position should be taken by a black and Larry wanted to split the position, and then he came back and said, "I want June and her husband, Jerry," and I said okay. That led to a series of misunderstandings. The GPC crowd thought that was coming from Joe. It wasn't, it was coming from me. (TI, Y5)

Third, a GPC member involved in this conflict offered some conflicting impressions and added the further confounding issue of communication.

> So, they, Paul and Larry, I guess Roy and some other people made the selection and decided that it could be a shared position and in fact that it might even be better to get two people in it half time, so they said, "Now we've got three people." I guess a couple of others were convinced that they would be willing to work half time. They preferred Jerry and June, though their first choice was Jerry and June and that fell through. I guess Joe Engleman said, "No way, we don't have husbands and wives sharing positions in this work." I mean, he'd had bad experiences or something. So it ended up that Jerry and June had this job. So she came home from Australia, trying to communicate across this 8,000 miles by telephone...trying to explain to her husband why she wanted to take this job even though he couldn't, and he didn't have one that they knew of, and they had a home in San Francisco but this was in Western City, and so, it was that kind of a traumatic start.... (TI, Y5)

Still another GPC member reflected on the competency versus minority issue with which the group struggled.

> Fred Welt...had applied for a job in the project, and we, I guess it was primarily me then, I remember others concurring, a few others decided that we should offer the position to Jerry.
>
> Ah, Jerry was not as competent as Fred to do the job, but we felt it was very important that we have a black, another black person on the staff. We already had Bill Johnson, but he was a graduate student....
>
> Part of the process involved our discussing with ARC who should have key positions and there was an understanding that we would, both ARC and GPC, and by that I mean Randy and Roy and Larry and Paul, would agree on whoever we hired. Well, the way we tried to balance off the issue of Jerry and Jim was--I made the suggestion that we hire both of them, part time, because of their different skills, different assets, and both Jim and Jerry were willing to go along with that. But Randy in particular and Roy secondarily thought that we've got to really make a stand, show clear authority, hire a black person! And so after some discussions with them, it really wasn't a lot of arguing, they convinced me that let's try to go with Jerry and if another position comes along, then maybe we could offer that to Jim, maybe we could get Jim involved in something else.

> Part of one of the issues that I've been recalling quite vividly, was June telling Randy that he was kind of a racist in reverse, put pressure on us to, with this affirmative action thing, that there's too much affirmative in the action. We're not hiring for competency, we're hiring just somebody the right color. June put that on Randy, she might very well have turned to Larry or Paul and said, "You guys believe it too," but whatever the psychodynamics of that are, she didn't do it that way, she did it against Randy. And that was a very upsetting event, but sort of a theme that recurred.... (TI, YS)

Fourth, a GPC member opened the question of salary parity recalling an event from an early meeting.

> So there were little tete-atetes in the kitchen of this condominium about her [Sara Carlton] salary and June's salary, phone calls gogoing back and forth to different places. ...so that salary issue was there, as you say, right from the start. (TI, YS)

An angry ARC member continued that theme and confounded it further with race and competency issues:

> ...they were so busy being the fairy godmother to the minority people that they didn't have the guts to say, "Hey, wait a minute, this is an unqualified minority, and there are six million qualified minorities out there." (TI,YS)

And, about a separate and later issue:

> His salary didn't come through for three or four months. They didn't put him on the payroll. They didn't know how to decide what to pay him. They tried to pay him less than they were paying Margie. You wouldn't believe all that went on. (TI, YS)

We asked for clarification. The response summated many of the issues.

> OBS: What do you make of that? Do you make that out as racist, or as general incompetence or as...
>
> Member of ARC: See, I don't know if it's racist. I think they were so...what I felt about IAP was that they were so busy making pronouncements about how much they cared about people, that they really had no time to care about people. I've never seen people deal so shabby with human beings in my life, while they're telling you they love you. Um...I think they dealt with Wren the same way they dealt with everyone else and their grandmother, except the blacks thought it was because it was anti-black and the Hispanics thought it was because they were being anti-Hispanic and the whites thought it was because they were being anti-white. But I think it was just a total lack of sensitivity towards human beings. Uh...it was just incredible how people in there were supposed to be so humanistic couldn't see a human situation. Just couldn't understand a human situation. (TI, YS)

Sixth, a GPC member offered another explanation of the early multiple problems associated with the hiring process.

> ...the size of the IAP. I think it grew so fast and we moved from that group of five white males to 25 to 30 people, 35 people by the time we started that new stuff. We probably had 15 to 20 at Bay Side. It grew so fast and we were under a very strict time line, contractual time line, and the very, very high interest in the part, of Joe and others at FED, because we were such an expensive project, it's such an integrated sort of thing, and there were high expectations, high hopes from everybody. (TI, Y5)

Seventh and lastly, small favors and hidden agendas complicated the process. Excerpts from Reflections on the Hiring of Field Researchers in the Eastern City, a short paper by an ARC staff person highlighted these problems.

> The raw data: One hundred and fifty-seven were screened. Face to face interviews were conducted with 72 candidates and 16 persons were interviewed on the phone. I have submitted a prior memo on the racial composition of the candidates, so I will not comment on that issue in this reflection. The group was representative (race and sex). The final choice of site researchers yielded four women of varying academic, racial, and social backgrounds.
>
> The Search and Interviews: Collaboration, confrontation, and small favors characterized the search for candidates. The Project Director at the Setting had two people who he thought would represent the interests of his program. I felt that one of the candidates had been intimately connected with the project and appeared to be a "favorite" with the Project Director. He made it clear that if we didn't find a spot for this person, he would definitely find him an opportunity with the consultative assistance group. I explained to the fellow that I thought his involvement with the project might affect his objectivity and it was for that reason that I could not consider hiring him as a field researcher.
>
> I was never told of the "hidden agendas" of the project. Although I understood that the project actively sought out minority candidates as part of an Affirmative Action Program, it was never expressed to me that Western City and Eastern City had to be bilingual, preferably a Hispanic, site researcher. When a Hispanic site researcher was not hired in Western City (and I still don't understand that one), we were under the gun. The site never indicated that hiring a Hispanic person was a requirement we had to meet.
>
> Some concluding comments: I am very happy with the way things finally turned out. The four Eastern City field researchers are very remarkable women. Thus far, they have demonstrated great interest in their work and an unquenchable curiosity about the inner workings of their settings and IAP. We are indebted to our personal contacts for referring qualified candidates to IAP. (PD, Y2)

One might say that the IAP stew, now stirring in the pot, was beginning to simmer. In the first few weeks of the project, in IAP's first operational endeavor, questions and suspicions regarding minorities, competence, legitimacy of decisions, communication, salary parity, size, and related issues and hidden agendas had intruded on IAP.

5. SUMMARY

At this point in the IAP story an extensive research project had been conceptualized and planned and contractors had been solicited. The winning group was a combined organization this report will refer to simply as IAP, the Inquiry and Assistance Project. It was a collaborative group representing two organizations, the Applied Research Center (ARC) and the Group Process Center (GPC). They had competed successfully with other research groups through a grueling and exhausting selection process. They were awarded the contract just days before the project was to be initiated according to the federal guidelines. They found themselves trying desperately to solidify their organization and their multiple plans in order to begin their work. The fledgling IAP organization was at once inhibited by complex contextual problems which slowed their beginning and confronted their idealism. The continuing saga elaborates on the cumulating contextual complexities with which IAP had to cope.

Chapter Five

IAP in Action

1. A POINT OF VIEW

The decisions, actions, and events raised in the early origins of the Inquiry and Assistance Project contributed to later interactions and events. This chapter sketches, in a brief format, this continuing story of the major events of the project in action. While many formats exist for telling a story we have elected to focus most heavily on the major meetings held during the three years of IAP's existence. This has the benefits of seeing the organization as a totality, for most of the meetings involved all or large segments of the staff. The meetings involved critical planning decisions around many of the central issues in IAP's evolution. Finally, the constancies and changes in central personnel are highlighted.

On the negative side, focusing on this strand of the organization's history minimizes the more day-to-day activities and interactions in the organization. We try to capture these by implication in the story and later more directly in the analytical chapters as they bear upon the themes which give an interpretation to the story.

2. IAP'S FIRST YEAR (Y2)[1]

IAP planned ambitiously for the first year. The sheer size of the undertaking did not permit hesitation or feint heart. Internally they needed to complete their staff. Interviewing and selecting persons for field researcher positions was a top priority. Not only did they need to be hired but the development and implementation of a training program for them was necessary. The actual research design to be employed was far from ready at the onset. Issues regarding methodology, reporting styles, analysis styles and cross-setting analysis needed to be settled. A complicated computer-based data storage and retrieval system had to be conceptualized and operationalized. IAP further felt the need to develop a media support system. Once these inquiry related problems were solved, the project mandated the development and implementation of a consultative assistance strategy in other sites. By design, this strategy remained uncrystallized at the outset. Finally, IAP's internal management system needed refinement.

Added to this lengthy series of tasks were a group of problems related to interactions of IAP with its external environment. For instance, agreements needed to be reached with each of the ten inquiry sites that would legitimize IAP's research activities in those settings. Further, locations for the consultative assistance efforts had to be identified, visited, and included in negotiations to begin that phase of the study. All of this work had to be continuously presented to FED in the form of numerous reports to assure FED the opportunity to give IAP critical, helpful feedback, a part of their larger collaborative relationship.

The year proceeded through multiple activities, countless meetings, conferences, letters, memos and reports. The year may be captured best in descriptions of four of the major meetings and by short quotes available from the files of documents that were generated that year. Chronologically, then, we will present glimpses of the Bay Side meeting, the April IAP Retreat, the Field Research Training Workshop and the Lake View Meeting. These retrospective glances will be joined by brief quotes from documents which highlighted the shifting alliances and viewpoints through the first year.

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[1] Our references to Y1, Y2, etc. indicate the years from the time perspective of our study. We wanted to capture on our time line the events in Washington, Central City and Western City which led up to the formal contract signing which officially began IAP. This is a methodological and procedural implication of our conceptual delineating the problem as Federal Policy in Action, rather than other possible boundaries of the case.

2.1 The Bay Side Meeting

Despite the early euphoria, despite a spirit-moving party thrown by Joe Engleman in Washington, D.C. to celebrate the successful launching of IAP, the stew was boiling by the end of February, Year 2. The place, a beautiful retreat in California; the meeting, now called Bay Side; the occasion, the first gathering of the eastern, central and western staffs to concretize plans for action. Assumption would lead one to expect an air of excitement, a thrill at meeting one's counterparts and peers in a huge national research undertaking. Assumptions are sometimes partial and sometimes misleading. Excerpts from reflective interviews of the participants and selections from documents written about the meeting, shortly after the meeting, tell the story.

One participant from GPC arrived at Bay Side about halfway through the first day of the meeting. He described his impressions in an interview:

> So Bay Side came around...and I guess it got started on the wrong foot....By the time I got to Bay Side it seemed like the group was divided....Some of it came from Sara Carlton's accusation that the GPC group was too lily-white and did not know that much about urban schools and urban situations. Also, that it [GPC] was a pretty incestuous group....It was like the first of many encounter groups we were to have and it was pretty uncomfortable meeting people for the first time, almost being attacked....I remember my first experience walking in. I guess the first thing that happened was--I was really kind of excited about meeting these people and walked in and said hi to the group--and I ran into Rich Morrow and he said, "Oh, you're who?" I said, "Yeah, who are you?" And he said, "I'm Rich. You'd better get over there and get caught up." And that was it! Immediately it was on this work/task oriented bandwagon before even getting smoothed into the process. (TI, Y5)

He continued to describe the meeting. His words included "hostilities" between individuals and "tenseness" in people's behavior. He described the content of the meeting as dividing up the work and creating a time line. In the interview we asked him if the time line proved realistic. He said, "No, no, not at all. Not even close. It proved to be a pain in the butt...a source of a lot of resentment...."

Another participant made these comments:

> There were about thirteen of us down there. I remember we separated pretty quickly into the consultative assistance bunch and in the other room, the inquiry bunch.
>
> We got along fine, the consultative bunch. It was kind of fun to be with all of this. You know, we were starting to think about where we would talk to schools, what schools in Central City might be fun, made a lot of commitments to work as a single team, which felt really good and we were all very committed to "doing"....The bunch in the other room was having problems. The researcher group started having problems just right from the beginning. The conflict was over proper methodology. Paul and Rich somehow represented polar opposites on everything. (TI, Y5)

Memos from three members of the leadership group written within two weeks of the meeting present similar reactions but in varied style. The first reflects in almost emotional terms reactions to the meeting. The content of the second is similar to the first but more distant, the emotion is gone. Finally, the third reflection contains recommendations to the group to deal with the issues highlighted in the first two documents. Excerpts from the three documents follow:

> Re: A few reflections on the Bay Side conference
> Date: March, Y2
>
> As I said in the wrap-up discussion at Bay Side, I was uncomfortable with the lack of systematic pinpointing of what decisions had been made, who was responsible for carrying them out, and by when they would be done....
>
> The incredible cost of trips to Western City underlines the need to work more effectively over phone lines. I hope that the combination of position papers circulating and the use of speaker phones will enable us to cut costs....
>
> The racial hiring issue, as we discussed, is still not resolved, although I think the air has been cleared to permit a better discussion. Some issues that still seem to be there:
>
> a. Given the best effort in Western City, will they be able to attract black staff members? They feel we didn't appreciate their effort to find people, but (the other side of the issue) no matter how great an effort they make, we can't go around explaining to people we meet in Eastern City about the demography of Western City....
>
> b. GPC seems still hooked into a fairly traditional understanding of qualifications, phrased for example, "If a black and white candidate had equal qualifications, would you..." They don't seem to understand that an important qualification is to understand deeply what it means to grow up in a ghetto area....
>
> The issue of over-planning vs. winging it is still at the sterotype polarized stage. Larry seems pretty annoyed by it--he brought it up repeatedly (in a "joking" way) to the last hour of the conference. We need to work on ways to deal with this....
>
> The kind of wrap-up comments we had at the end of the Bay Side conference are fine for group-building but weak for really evaluating what went on to feed it into the next conference....
>
> Finally I feel basically optimistic that we can pull it off. The ideas are sound and the people, despite conflicts, are very competent to do it. Benefits of collaboration will build over time.... (PD, Y2)

The second document in this series restates the issues in terms of needs.

Re: Some problems and issues post Bay Side workshop
Date: March, Y2

I think that the workshop by and large was successful in getting several issues into the open. We made some significant progress on team building and planning in some areas. As is inherent with our work, the real success of the workshop will be determined by what we do now. The purpose of this memo is to indicate my own personal thoughts as to what we need to be working on, particularly in areas related to the overall management and planning of the project.

1. Center differences. While I think the workshop allowed us to pass beyond our worst stereotypes of each other, some differences between Centers became even clearer. We must keep these differences out front, deal with them, use them to enrich the structures and processes within each of the Centers. I see the following differences:

   a. Internal family vs. outside effectiveness. While both Centers hold that internal structures and processes directly effect the organization's work and effectiveness, GPC seems to place more value on the development of individual staff members in all areas of human growth within a structure that gets the job done. ARC seems to place more emphasis on being effective in changing urban education, thinking that within the work to be done to be effective is much room for personal growth and development, particularly in the areas of skills related to educational change.

   b. Planning vs. winging it. While there was a good deal of joking and carrying on about this issue, it does appear to be an important difference. GPC places more emphasis on meeting the situation as it is, with a debriefing afterwards to see how it went. ARC, again more intent perhaps on the change thing, values pre-planning.

      Debriefing then focuses on both what happened and on the prior plans. ARC is more anxious in winging situations.

   c. Hectic, crisis pace. ARC seems to enjoy stirring itself along in something of a continual crisis. While ARC values and carries out planning in its work relating to external meetings, it seems to have some trouble in planning its own internal life style so that it can operate in less of a continual crisis situation. GPC does not particularly value this kind of style.

2. Race and hiring. While I missed the bulk of the sessions that dealt squarely with this issue, it seemed to me it had been significantly raised, but not adequately resolved. Are we going to continue to see racial and ethnic backgrounds as key qualifications for project posts, or does the pain experienced in the last round, imply we change our course? Can we or should we develop a clear statement of policy for the project in regards to hiring?.... It obviously needs to be thought and clarified beyond the statement in the letter. How does the training plan relate to this issue?

3. Structures for decision-making. As demonstrated by the almost afterthought that we needed to be sure what decisions were made at the workshop, we need to implement a much clearer structure for decisions making. Who makes what decisions? How do decisions get communicated? How do decisions get refined and changed? How do we implement the concept of collaboration with clear lines of responsibility?
4. Money and time. We must build into the decision making structure systems that allow us to keep on top of budget and time issues. As Tim points out these are key areas.
5. Communication coordination and follow through. We need to find ways to keep you and me and staff at both Centers clearly informed of what is happening and accountable with follow through on decisions made.
6. Planning. We must find efficient, cheap ways to continue to do the continual conceptual and management planning the work requires. (PD, Y2)

The last document, written by a project consultant to IAP, stirred a somewhat more optimistic note regarding accomplishments of the meeting at Bay Side. However, issues and warnings about them are clear within his recommendations.

To: IAP Co-director
Date: March, Y2

This memo responds to Roy's request for me to send some follow-up thoughts on the workshop, and to make suggestions.

1. My impression was that the three days accomplished a reasonable amount of team-building; the relationship among the five members of the leadership team was reconfirmed, the Eastern City research coordinator was effectively gotten on board, and the second and third-level members from each center got connected to people from the other center and the enterprise as a whole.
2. There was progress in building a common language, and a shared view of the tasks ahead. Explicit product for the April 1 proposal did not get generated, but most of the raw material for it did.
3. The relationship to Joe Engleman [at the Federal Education Department], previously best and strongest with Roy, now seems to be good for most group members; the feeling is one of trust and respect. There was an intellectual appreciation of the problems of relationship with the project officers, and some action on this in relation to specific officers (setting visits, hiring, etc.) but I did not get a feeling that there was comprehensive attention to the problem (ex: no plans for meeting with p.o.'s all together at the April 23-25 meeting, which would be helpful).
4. The ownership of decisions seemed to be strong at the time they were made. The fact that several people expressed anxiety about recording of decisions is important; it suggests realistic worries about implementation, tracking, and accountability.

Suggestion: the meeting notes should get out as fast as possible, with decisions and responsibility for action marked; staff members who remember the decision differently should phone immediately so that a corrected, owned set of decisions exists.

5. I suggest the immediate creation of a decision-recording and tracking system for use at all meetings (within centers, and across centers) where decisions are made affecting the system as a whole. Decision notes ought to be circulated promptly, with provision made for certain decisions to be provisional pending review by others.

6. A communication method which would help to reduce intergroup difficulties between the two task groups, or between centers, would be a weekly personal log (legitimate revision of what ARC/GPC had understood to be the purpose of logs). The log would include an account of work done that week, reflections on feelings, learnings, dilemmas, etc. These logs could be Xeroxed and circulated to everyone, perhaps in a kind of IAP newsletter (which probably ought to exist even if the log idea is not used. Either could be experimented with for a while to see whether and how they are useful. (We have used the log idea on our project, and it seems useful.)

7. The 'macro-problems" of time overload and dollar insufficiency are crucial, and I reiterate the need for the two of you to do some active diagnosis and invention of solutions very promptly. Unless you do so soon, habits of time and dollar use will get built into people's working assumptions and self-correction will become almost impossible. Already, people tend to do problem-solving without serious examination of time and dollar costs (e.g., the way the research coordinators allocated personnel to sites). To give you an idea of the scale of attention required, I think you should shoot for the creation of between 5 and 10% of total budget in the form of organizational "slack." That will require some painful decisions about dropping or narrowing some present activities, and you will say that "it cannot be done." But unless you approach it on that scale (note that your spending is now at a 5-10% over budget rate, when it ought to be something like a 10% under figure, with slack available for unanticipated contingencies), the enterprise will get into not only fiscal trouble, but worse and worse emotional trouble--overload, burnout, bitterness, and the rest. There are undoubtedly technical problems of many sorts, but Joe should be able to problem-solve them with you.

8. For the next workshop, I suggest:

   a. A longer time, with slack built in. More cost-effective, since travel is bulk in comparison to per diem. At the end of this meeting, several people reported that they were nearly exhausted, near their limits. Space for non-work, recreation, etc. is needed, along with informal discussion/negotiation, etc. Also time for individual work (writing, critiquing products, etc.)

   b. A system of recording decisions, based on the one advocated above, is in place.

   c. Xeroxing and typing facilities available.

d. Music available (this, with slack, would help a lot in getting things more expressive, less drivenly task-oriented).

e. Continued attention to process work. Some pre-workshop data collection on the state of the system would be a good idea. (PD, Y2)

Five different views of the meeting at Bay Side in as many different styles all speak to the same problem. Descpite the vast amount of preparation, planning and working together that resulted in the accepted proposal, IAP's first major meeting resulted in serious questions regarding (1) how will decisions be made; (2) how will money be spent; (3) how will differences in operating styles between ARC and GPC be resolved; (4) how will time be budgeted; (5) and how will the touchy problems around race be regarded. The strongest card IAP had to play at that point was their belief that the problems could and would be resolved, in a project that all felt was intellectually important and socially significant.

2.2 April IAP Retreat

The April IAP Retreat, requested by FED, followed closely on the heels of the Bay Side meeting. It exposed yet another raw nerve. In essence, FED's early assumption of IAP becoming an extension of them and the collaboration model they conceived came under close and critical scrutiny. The importance of the meeting arose also from the groups who participated. IAP in its three geographical units, the Applied Research Center (ARC), the Group Process Center (GPC), and the Eastern City Branch attended. The FEDs with its leaders and project officers for both IAP and the Cofunded Ten Settings projects were there. And, finally, for the first time, representatives from each of the ten settings were meeting with IAP and the FEDs as collaborative partners in the overall scheme. Again, the participants speak best for themselves. The first excerpt describes what FED wanted of the meeting. The comments which follow, some short and some lengthy, are taken from reflective documents written within a few weeks of the meeting.

From FED the following outline suggested the content of the meeting as they prepared for and organized the meeting.

a. History of IAP Project (Clifford, Joe or John) original conception, review of competition, the two centers, etc.

b. Overview of context (ARC/GPC logistics, staffing, management)

c. Presentation of assumptions/concepts underlying Tasks 1-3 (ARC/GPC)

d. Solicit questions and issues from audience and/or suggest issues for further discussion in small groups--attendees select 6-8 issues for further discussion

e. Group breaks into 6-8 groups for further discussion of selected issues--sessions chaired by IAP person or FED staff person, with IAP person also serving as recorder

Topics

1. Research Process
2. Consultative Assistance
3. Methods for Studying a School
4. FED: Spy or Helper?

(PD, Y2)

Various participants wrote of their views of the Retreat shortly after the meeting.

From a GPC participant:[2]

> The following memories are now most outstanding in my mind about events at the April IAP Retreat meeting.
>
> Our pre-planning, primarily involving Roy and Larry, for our IAP panel seemed sufficient for aiding in our running an effective panel. However, our time-table was not followed because several of us spoke longer than we should have. Also, I don't think that Joe took sufficient responsibility for his part in the IAP project. Our different personality styles came across very well and many participants were impressed, I think, by our humaneness.
>
> Although there were some useful exchanges among the projects sponsored by FED, I think many of the conversations were quite superficial. In my special seminar group, I was impressed by the very low levels of knowledge about system-level interventions. Many of the conferees seemed to be viewing educational change from an individual-change perspective.
>
> While the FED project officers were quite reasonable when acting as individuals, as a collective body they act in some neurotic ways, e.g., flying into crises quickly and acting rigidly and unimaginatively at other times. I believe that the FED crew could benefit greatly from training in collaboration and from some consultation in team-building.
>
> Diane's [from one of the ten settings] apparent insensitivity about her dominative behavior in relation to her "colleagues."
>
> In general, the good vibration and togetherness across projects gave me very satisfying feelings for much of the meeting.
>
> Once again, we seemed always to be working! (PD, Y2)

From an ARC participant:

> April IAP Retreat was an unusually painful experience for me. In a way I describe why this pain was that I realized the incredible set of pressures public and private that IAP works under. The set of pressures is described in the in-site section of the April report which is included at the end of this memo.
>
> I think we were expected by the format of the program as it evolved to present an unusually heavy burden to the whole conference about the Analysis, Implementation, and Dissemination program. As the FED staff has recognized, we were the only group that was asked to make a formal presentation about the conference.

---

[2] These records indicate both the reflective introspective quality of IAP and Task Six of the proposal, the along-the-way logging of events and reactions to events.

> There has been a clear feeling expressed by FED that we misinterpreted their request for us to make a presentation. They saw this as an opportunity and in hindsight I think that was accurate in that this was the way it was presented to us and I indeed saw it was an opportunity. The problem lay in the other total structuring of the conference which was not clear and then was not seriously considered by FED or by us as to the context of the presentation would be set. It is my judgment that we were put under unfair pressure by FED....
>
> While I know that Joe and others on the staff were critical of our presentation, perhaps in a similar vein, I was critical of the conference. I think all and all, we came out well in terms of our major goal of increasing relationships with the sites. (PD, Y2)

From Eastern City came a reflection on the Retreat subtitled, "The Bomb Shell":

> FED personnel, project officers, are faced with a dilemma as a result of the Inquiry and Assistance Project. Their traditional roles as project officers are being challenged by a third party. The fact that IAP will be collecting data that may be helpful to them in the "performance" of their duties creates a dilemma of conscience.
>
> Project officers serve the basic function of monitoring grants for the federal government. The staff views the monitoring function in terms of ascertaining whether funds are being spent within the guidelines of the scope of work and whether the scope of work is being faithfully carried out. The working relationship already established between project officers and the sites is one of continual assistance to the project directors and the site people. It appeared that a FED budget cut prevents the project officers from visiting the sites more often. One of the project officers presented the argument that FED project officers were social scientists and indeed very concerned to learn more about their projects. The role of learner/researcher would be more satisfying to them than the function they normally serve.
>
> The expansion of role was substantiated rather emotionally at the 2:00 p.m. meeting when Dorothy (a FED Project Officer) expressed her feelings. She stated that if the job was not more intellectually stimulating, she doubted whether she wanted to remain in the position. This discussion called into question each of the site agreements, some being more vulnerable to attack than others, and found IAP faced with FED guidelines for site agreements formulated after the fact. A great deal of time and effort had gone into the building of relationships with the sites, which were cemented by the agreements. FED's last minute laying on of restrictions, seemed to me a "double cross."
>
> There was a great deal of talk and fun about the meaning of "natural conversation" between the Site Researcher, the Research Coordinator and the visiting FED Project Officer. I objected to the entire discussion on several gounds: In effect, the sharing of data between IAP and the project officers would not only make us interventionists in the normal course of events between the project officer and the sites, but might more seriously earn us the lable of being "spies" and indirectly, "evaluators."

> This point seemed lost to many parties in the discussion, who seemed to think that the notion of "natural conversation" was something inconsequential and did not warrant the attack I had mounted against it. (As I think about the problem, the situation troubles me more. I have reflected on the additional concerns and maybe a solution to Roy Taylor in a handwritten memo. I believe that this dilemma of role is FED's problem and may indeed create a long-term tension between IAP and the project officers.)
>
> The sites should also have been included in the discussion so that their feelings and concerns could have been aired. The fact that FED will take responsibility for the change in signals and write to each of the sites clarifying the "all information" clause does not settle the question.
>
> I felt that our (maybe, my) resistance to disclosure of data in "natural conversation" irritated some of the officers. I think that it is still imperative to have guidelines for relations with FED project officers worked out and not fumble along haphazardly. (PD, Y2)

Reflections on the more general content of the conference with several summary comments appeared in another reaction sheet.

> - There was a high level of intellectual confrontation and sharing of problems and ideas.
> - There was also a high level of emotional confrontation between the so-called intellectuals (academicians) and the practitioners. I think it was an unfortunate and misleading dialogue, which probably involved more personality than content. Practitioner and intellectual arrogance ran rampant. The participants solved the problem with grace and style.
> - The conference facility itself, is unfit for human habitation. Inflexible and confining. The waitresses in the dining room look like mental hospital attendants.
> - I kept getting the feeling that the FED staff did not have it "all together."
> - I know for sure that we didn't have it all together. Because of the grace of the Lord and some pretty competent abilities at "throwing the bull," we managed again to muddle through.
>
> *An important aside: I will continue to admire her for her stand against tokenism.
>
> My physical discomfort and the various little arguments aside, the content made the conference one of the best I have ever attended. (PD, Y2)

The final sentence in this list of summary comments may typify the internal perspective of IAP. They recognized their struggling as the very act that symbolized their vitality.

FED saw it differently:

> IAP had encouraged us to come to the meeting and speak openly with them and we had a long discussion about whether to do that, whether to lay open to them our fears about what they could do to us [i.e., isolate FED from the project by not discussing the sites with them] and I remember several persons saying, "OK., I have reservations, but I'll go into this and tell them how I'm feeling and how I'm worrying." And at the end of the April Retreat, after she and others had said outrageous things, from the point of view of the project officers, there was a great deal of anger at the presumption of these IAP people to so quickly shut out the project officers and assert that they had no interest in conversation with us. (TI, Y5)

This variation between internal perceptions and evaluations and external perceptions and evaluations became an established phenomenon in the months ahead. The issues never became problematic in the sense of important dilemmas about which thoughtful position papers might be written and cumulated as part of the lore of the project regarding learning about complex roles of relevant agents and agencies seeking to improve urban education. Rather they remain a strand of conflict and negative emotions which interfered with rather than enriched the accomplishment of substantive tasks.

2.3 The Field Researcher Training Meeting

In the original contract documents and in the leaders' general points of view regarding the need for organizational socialization, meetings with the various subgroups in IAP were built into the crowded schedule. None was more critical than the Field Researcher Training Meeting. Intermingled with the intended agenda were unanticipated items: a caucus of field researchers, the appearance of gaping holes in supervisory hierarchies, the mix of idealism, desires for professional autonomy, and managerial inexperience, and elements of not so latent conflict. We begin with a general comment from one of the field researchers:

> One thing that always bothered me about IAP was, it was an important attempt, although I think it was idealistic,...to involve less skilled people in the area of research who were sensitive to cultural settings.... (TI/Y5)

The comment typified the strategy in hiring field researchers, and it necessitated on IAP's part, a commitment to train their culturally sensitive researchers. That training began with the Field Research Training Meeting held in July (Y2) in Western City. The field researchers (FRs) had been in their settings for two or three months before this conference was held. The following descriptions recount the experience from the participants' points of view within a few weeks of the conference.

A field research supervisor's statement included many of the issues raised by the field researchers.

> The FRs requested time to caucus to collectively discuss problems they anticipate. I was excited about the FRs demonstration of

> unity and collective thinking. This manifested in various ways throughout the Workshop. I view this as a strength for IAP opposed to a threat. After all, without them IAP 's dead.
>
> The list of issues generated in the FRs' caucus is as follows:
>
> 1. Who are ARC/GPC
> 2. Use and Distribution of IAP Data
> 3. Access to the Computer
> 4. We/You Syndrome
> 5. FRs' In-put to IAP
> 6. Relationships of FRs to 2 Centers, i.e., loyalties
> 7. FRs Need to Communicate Among Themselves, i.e., conference calls
> 8. Experimentation of Human Subjects
> 9. Use of Media at 10 Sites
>
> (PD, Y2)

The list contains major items on the general nature of IAP as an organization, both its structure and function, and on specific elements impinging on the day-to-day life of the field researchers. It includes a number of complicated ethical issues facing IAP. However no major substantive issues on schooling, innovation, and the bearing of theory on educational practice appear. The importance of the meeting for IAP appears in the concluding comment by the same individual.

> Unfortunately, there isn't enough money for more gatherings like that one. (PD, Y2)

One of the leaders of IAP related his perceptions and reactions to the same meeting and some of its events in a brief document written shortly after the meeting.

> I had worked carefully with Research Supervisors to design a system for Field Researchers to participate in the analytic development of IAP and also in planning. I was surprised and hurt the first day of the workshop when they asked for more time to caucus without Research Supervisors.
>
> I had never been on this side of the fence before. I couldn't understand why anyone would feel the need to "organize against me."
>
> My identification was more with the role of Field Researcher than anything else. I was frustrated with their failure to see the larger picture....
>
> As the week went on, I came to know the Field Researchers as individuals and to be reassured about why they were asking for what they were. I realized that I would have probably done the same things. It seemed a natural response to being the lowest status professional in an organization. It seemed the ethical thing to do when one was gathering the intimate kind of data that the Field Researchers were--i.e., to get some kind of control over what happened to the data and what the whole effort was about. I would feel the same needs in a split loyalty situation such as we had created (Field Researchers felt loyalty to both the sites and IAP).

> I began to enjoy what they were doing. They were building a tight group. I was scared about the loneliness of the job as we had designed it and it seemed that they might serve the support function for each other that was so necessary and which eluded other similar projects.
>
> The process of orienting Field Researchers was not nearly as far along as I had expected. Partially this situation existed because some of the Field Researchers were relatively new on the job. Even the others, however, did not know as much as I expected. The questions Field Researchers asked made it clear that the IAP proposal and Field Manual were inadequate. Similarly our orientation procedures should have caused all these questions to be raised long before the workshop.
>
> As it turned out, the Field Researchers kept us honest. They pointed out questions that we had skirted, forgotten, or missed. It was clear that their questions had to be answered or at least addressed before anything else could be done. I would expect nothing less from conscientious researchers. We needed two workshops--one to do all the things we did and later another one to work more on method and analysis. I am concerned that we won't meet again until February. (PD, Y2)

Another of the leaders commented on the team development as he saw it at the conference.

> I felt extremely good about the way things went there. First, we got a great many things decided and I think people had a consensus on what we finally came up with. The process of asking everyone what role they felt they should play in getting the work done went particularly well. We really began to click as a team for the first time. (PD, Y2)

Another Field Research Supervisor commented:

> I can fully understand the feelings of discomfort when FRs began their minor revolution (our Italics). I'm glad IAP adjusted so quickly to FRs' needs. The revolution pleased me at no end because some of the questions I have been asking for months were asked again, particularly the ones about the conceptual differences between ARC and GPC on school change. The FRs also appear to have the feeling that IAP has missed the boat seriously in not addressing the beneficiaries or clients of educational change--the children.
>
> I am concerned that FR expectations to build a tight group will remain unsatisfied. The disadvantages of work, time, space, and money cause a realistic limitation on communication. (PD, Y2)

Finally, one of the Field Researchers commented:

> I remember the days before the workshop, wading through a mass of detail, most of it bewildering, about computer codes, subsystems and critical activities or organizational development and ethnography.

> I remember feeling that there was little in what I read about what I was most interested in--what can interested people do and think about that may make schools creative and humane places for children and adults? I distinctly remember also thinking that I wanted to be extremely cautious about the group process viewpoint of things, which to me meant a perspective that was systems-oriented, that regarded people as interchangeable, and therefore, not individual and unique. That was precisely what the present urban school setting did not need, with its emphasis on depersonalization, technology, and programming.
>
> The major triumph of the workshop and one which all at IAP can share, was ready appreciation by the field researchers of themselves as a group capable of good and valuable work, which it would be their responsibility to keep before the view of other IAP members in the future. The Eastern City squad was especially attentive to ethnic, sex, and race overtones. Off duty, the camaraderie was genuine. I was elated by the good feelings that seemed so easily to wash over the group. It was a good beginning and helped me feel positive about step II. (PD, Y2)

The Field Researcher Training Meeting seemed to have facilitated effectively the involvement of the field researchers in the IAP process. From this involvement rose a strong group affiliation and strong interpersonal relations. In fact, the affective component of the meeting was viewed very positively as the document excerpts show. Unfortunately, as several of the quotes indicated, the ability of the FRs to maintain their esprit de corps and affective input would be limited because of distance, logistics, and money.

From a training point of view, most participants felt ill prepared to return to their sites and function as ethnographers. The research consultant brought to the meeting was a disappointment to the IAP group. In their words:

> Bryan Pickens [the consultant on field methds] was somewhat of a disappointment to the FRs. It was reported to me that he stated at the end of his lecture that he didn't think any of the material discussed would be helpful to them; some felt crushed. (PD, Y2)

One of the leaders who had helped plan the Training Meeting commented also on the substantive issues in methodology.

> Pickens [a field research consultant] discussed his previous research. The discussion was interesting but really did not speak to the nitty-gritty issues of method that the Field Researchers needed to know.
>
> I think we goofed in using him for that session. We could have spent the time much more productively answering the Field Researchers' questions.
>
> I am not quite sure what to do about training. My tendency is to have faith in people's ability to learn what they need to learn. I am worried that the workshop did not give anyone the ability to assess Field Researcher strengths and weaknesses nor did it give us the chance to work on developing needed skills. Furthermore, IAP doesn't seem to have enough resources to provide assistance, supervision, or training in the field. (PD, Y2)

Retrospectively, the last paragraph is particularly poignant. With all the advantages of hindsight, IAP leaders will later see the hiring and training of field researchers as a critical variable in the failure of the organization to accomplish its task. Yet, at the time optimism obscured the problem. A painful but, in another sense, beautifully naive statement by a newcomer to the FR team concludes this section well. The statement was written shortly after the Field Researcher meeting.

> I judge, from the good start we have as a group, that we can accomplish IAP's task--to assist schools! I also think our "audience" (Sites, user schools, FED, etc.) will be able to relate to our trials and tribulations, watch our development and growth, and laugh at our mistakes and misunderstandings throughout the research process. (PD, Y2)

The reader, knowledgeable of the outcome of the project recognizes the bitter irony in the statement. In fact, in the following year this field researcher was released from his position in IAP.

2.4 Mountain Lake

Mountain Lake was a retreat setting on the west coast. What it lacked in creature comforts and meeting facilities it made up for with sheer natural beauty. Many of the same issues that evolved out of the previously described meetings developed or were continued here. It was now late July and a full half year into the project. Most participants again felt that the major accomplishment of the meeting was a continued improvement of working relations between individuals and groups. This aspect was described by one of the participants:

> The workshop was an excellent experience for me in that I was able to put faces to names and there was an opportunity for people to meet me. Initially I felt very ignorant of the project and its goals and problems, but at the end of the workshop, I had a much better understanding of IAP and its struggles. I also felt that the tensions and doubts that ARC and GPC had of each other were addressed in such a way that I felt everyone came out of the experience feeling that we were not so far apart as we seemed and that each group was committed to getting the job done as well as they could (probably better than is humanly possible). It is a tribute to all of us that so many people in such a small amount of space were able to come out of the whole thing still liking each other. (PD, Y2)

The workshop's facilitator listed the objectives of the workshop as (1) shared diagnosis, mutually analyzing and solving problems; (2) improved problem solving and decision making processes; (3) increasing understanding between ARC and GPC; (4) planning for the articulation of the inquiry efforts of the project and the consultative assistance phase; (5) looking again at the FED/IAP interface; (6) time and budget management; (7) discussing the training and staff support system; and (8) improving the quality of life for those working in the project.

It may be informative to note that seven of the eight objectives were process oriented, i.e., the group was still primarily consumed by operational procedures and questions regarding style differences, the nature of relationships and trust between the fractions of the IAP whole. Building an organization is both difficult and time consuming, time schedules and flow charts not withstanding.

The single substantive category was that of the articulation problem between the inquiry and consultative assistance phases. Regarding their progress on that issue, two participants comment:

> The important interface of Tasks 1 and 3 remained vague. Although some procedural elements may clear up as the computer system is installed, IAP must find ways to get people on the two teams together and feeling mutually influential. As part of the Task 3 team, I sensed that we are still receivers in the typical R→D→D paradigm. Until Task 1 and 3 folk have reason for face-to-face interaction; mutual influence will remain a dream, roles will be unclear, and conceptual links will be absent. (PD, Y2)

And:

> We still haven't discovered the best way to build this interface. The times to get together are so scarce that it has always seemed important for each Task group to work as a unit. Ideally, each time there was a major task meeting, there should be someone from the other tasks to insure that these perspectives were reflected. We can't afford to build the ideal links. Also there is a tension between the need to consolidate the working of each group and the need to include people from other tasks. (PD, Y2)

The problem then went unsolved. Here, too, the project was experiencing the very phenomenon the project was studying. The project's consultative assistance phase was to be planned by the spring of Y2. By the end of July no plan existed.

Participants at the Mountain Lake meeting generally felt good about the decisions reached while considering the basic issues of time and money. Even here, however, one of the leadership team enters a sobering note, a note reflecting a critical lack of experience in administering a large R & D project.

> The process was revealing to me. It showed some important relations of program and budget. We were most willing to give up things we haven't done yet (e.g., use of consultants) or things that were general categories (e.g., travel and phone calls). It is easy to say we will cut travel 15%--putting off the realization of what that means. We will see as the next months go by. I also realized how budget can limit creativity. If we do not have enough resources for even the basic work of our project how will we find any to explore new areas and take risks? Time is one area where resources are broken out for exploration. We don't have that either. (PD, Y2)

2.5 Summary, Conclusions and Some Implications

The records of these critical meetings, accumulate and are read by the stranger to the project called IAP. They create a growing awareness of commitment to an ideal on the one hand, but also, on the other hand, an overriding consciousness of disorganization and continued and severe internal problems in the IAP group. The records of the remaining meetings in that first critical year of the project do not alter this view, only confirm it. An important letter from the Federal Education Department to the Inquiry and Assistance Project and written in October of that year, summarizes the first year. The letter also indicates that the FEDs not only believed they were active partners and collaborators in the Project but that they acted on those beliefs.

> Dear Roy and Larry,
>
> The purpose of this letter is to restate some concerns we expect to see addressed in the coming months (and in some ways in the refunding documents), and the schedule for the rest of Phase I as best it can be outlined now.
>
> First, based on my visits and review of all reports so far, as well as discussions among the FED staff, I would like to list five major concerns we have about the work of the contract so far, and as we see it developing in the near future.
>
> 1. Conception of Task 3. [Consultative Assistance] We are concerned about the essential goals and focus of Task 3. Roy reports the feeling of Task 3 staff that the aim should be to develop, from all the sources you know of (including the ten sites) "the most effective intervention there can be into school communities." As we read the contract, and as we review our original intentions for this contract, (our Italics), we continue to believe that the work of Task 3 must start from questions about how experience can be effectively transferred. Helping users must be based on various ways of using the fruits of the elaborate research and analysis system that is being set up under Tasks 1 and 2.
>
> 2. Stage of development of Tasks 1 and 2. The pace of developments, understandable as it is, still leaves us concerned that Task 1 and Task 2 do not view themselves in a position yet to offer any guidance to Task 3 about foci of interest. We see, in effect, Task 3 establishing its own data-gathering and analysis system (through the site-by-site liaisons) to make up for shortcomings in the state of Tasks 1 and 2.
>
> 3. Questions of resources. We need to understand the future implications of recent additions to the budget, to insure that the spending rate by the end of Phase I is not impossibly high (as FED funds available to the contract will remain roughly level from now on.)
>
> 4. Timely presentation of plans and rationale. We are concerned that even granting certain delays in parts of the contract work, after nine months there does not exist an agreed-upon comprehensive document outlining the background, assumptions, rationale, and planned actions for any of the three major tasks--research, analysis, and utilization.

> 5. Connection of plans to experience of others. In addition to the concern, noted just above, about the completion of certain reports and documents, we are concerned also that the work on those reports and in the general design of the research and utilization activity, draw on prior work beyond the two centers. In particular, we see little evidence of much systematic effort to understand (if only to reject) prior organizational research, as a part of designing the substantive framework to guide data-collection on innovation processes and impacts on Task 1. While your earlier studies are doubtless useful in thinking about Task 3, as well as much past experience of both centers, we hope that other research and project efforts with both intervention and information-use can be reviewed while Task 3 plans are still malleable. It is of great importance to the FED that the work of this contract be "placed" in a context of other work in related areas, and that similarities, differences, and (we hope) substantial advances on the state of various arts, can be clearly noted in plans.
>
> As you recall, there was to be a major review of Phase I next summer, prior to drawing up a Phase II plan. The changes in project schedule lead us now to the conclusion that we need to spend some time with you looking at the overall effort, with some outside advice, sooner than next summer. We want to think about where things are, and about the soundness of the overall design you and we are working with--from the Scope through the November plans.
>
> We join with you in pleasure at the relaxation of pressures of the early months of IAP, and the imminent arrival of "products" from the field research. We trust the refunding effort we have outlined can be a constructive activity that will move IAP forward, not be a formality of routine filing of papers. We hope to be in close dialogue with you in the next month as you work towards refunding.
>
> With best wishes,
>
> Sincerely,
>
> Federal Education Department
> (PD, Y2)

The tone of the letter in its complete form was that of understanding and concern. FED was sincerely extending its hand to help. But in those eight pages all of IAP's previous nine months work and its value was challenged as well as its ability to plan future activities.

The FED's activities in its role as partner and monitor had its own complexities. From the beginning, outside peer reviewers were involved in helping the FEDs make decisions. One reviewer, in commenting upon the first draft of our document, said

> My impressions...were that you may not have recognized how very great were the advisors' reservations as far back as Year II. I was literally appalled. I was not at all surprised to see the project aborted. (PD, Y6)

At the time, the reviewer's introductory paragraph to his critique, in Year II, stated it this way.

> The task of reading through all the documentation of the massive IAP project is so heavy that I initially reacted by thinking that anything so detailed must be terribly important. Nevertheless, when I reflect on what has been read (not absorbed!) some feelings of disenchantment are hard to repress. My general reaction is that the project may be much ado about nothing as presently progressing. I temper that reaction by the phrase "given what has been spelled out." Further, I have some reasons for optimism in that I do not believe that all that has been spelled out reveals all the contractors actually have in mind.
>
> My criticisms are directed first and foremost to the plans of the IAP group rather than to their progress, since the first determines the second. My comments also serve as points of discussion both for the FEDs and for the contractors. Indeed, as I examine the suggested questions for our review, it strikes me that most of my comments are directed to:
>
>> Do the conceptualizations in various areas seem useful and sound?
>>
>> Do you note major unidentified problem areas?
>>
>> Does the organization of the work for the next 12 months seem suited to the tasks?
>
> I will argue that the issues I subsequently discuss are not "unidentified" problem areas, but rather problem areas insufficiently attended to in plans and, therefore, progress of the project. In doing so, I trust that my comments will serve to initiate fruitful discussion, clarification, and modifications where they seem needed. (PD, Y2)

What followed was twenty double-spaced pages of close analysis, oft-times scathing criticism, and quite specific alternatives for future action. A second review, five single-spaced pages was equally critical and equally constructive as the first. These were dutifully passed along with a four-page letter by the project officer with his own summary and interpretations.

Another reviewer, coming along later, introduced a different perspective into the project. This was reinforced by his comments upon reading an early draft of our report.

> And as to my role as a spring conference advisor, I felt that you failed to indicate how contradictory the advice from us, particularly from him (who urged them to spend lots more time getting organized and drawing up specific plans) and me (who urged them to avoid any more planning and specifying and to get more work done on the substantive inquiry into school innovation). I also think you should have indicated how I criticized the FED (p. 77) letter as bureaucratic-idealistic, bullying, and an obstruction to project work, a "cheap shot." (PD, Y6)

In short, our summary efforts with the FED's letter has its own *Roshomon* complexities.

3. IAP'S SECOND YEAR (Y3)

3.1 The February Conference

An important IAP conference was held outside Central City in February, the beginning of Year Three. Recall, Year I involved the FED's activity in developing the RFP, having the competition, and selecting the contractor. Year II was the first full year of IAP's existence--hiring personnel, developing relationships with the school settings and beginning field work. The February Conference involved all of the project's leadership group, the field researcher group, consultative assistance group, formative evaluation group, FED officers, and outside advisors. The conference agenda included the following objectives.

1. To derive a start list of cross-settings issues and establish a mechanism for possible issue revision. If we find that it is impossible to reach agreement on the issues, then we will decide on a process by which agreement can be reached in the near future.
2. To critique the outline of the conceptual paper on innovation and consultative assistance.
3. To provide IAP people with more practice in effective conceptualization.
4. To clarify past conference issues facing IAP; make decisions on these when it is possible.

(PD, Y3)

In essence the agenda called for the participants to focus the IAP enterprise. The first focusing mechanism was referred to as cross-settings issues. The issues referred to conceptual categories that would be used to analyze the data across the ten sites. They were extremely important for two reasons. One, they would form the basis for the computerized data storage system. Two, all future IAP conceptual and analytic work would hinge on them. The second focusing mechanism was the call to clarify how IAP would define two of its most central concepts, innovation and consultative assistance.

Objective four of the agenda added, "clarify past conference issues." The objectives seemed innocuous enough but the simplistic language belied the gut issues involved. Almost predictably the conference broke into warring factions. Conflicts were highly emotional and so numerous that notes from those sessions made by other observers are difficult to follow.

Lines of conflict were drawn between full time vs. part time staff, FED vs. IAP, ARC vs. ARC (in Eastern City) vs. GPC, minorities vs. whites, lower eschelon staff vs. higher eschelon staff, old timers vs. newcomers, inquiry group vs. consultative assistance group vs. formative evaluation group. Chapter nine presents a more extended and analytical treatment of social conflicts as well as additional particulars regarding the events of the February Conference.

Our story and analysis complicates itself in another way because this was the first occasion of Smith's direct involvement in the project as one of the four outside advisors. In that role, shortly after the Conference he wrote a lengthy, 13-page, single-spaced essay regarding his perceptions of the issues which mushroomed at the conference. In that document, he urged IAP to consider alternatives in each of their many troubled areas. Following are excerpts from that document.

> In this section I want to raise a pot pourri of substantive concerns.
>
> The Nature of the Case Studies
> One of my hopes was to learn about the case studies under way in each of the sites. This got frustrated because of the heavy amount of time spent in political and organizational issues. To the best of my ability to determine--from individual and small group conversations there is little clarity on nature and format of the case studies....
>
> Comments on Personnel and Supervision
> I found the group impressive in general background, diversity and idiosyncratic experience. I have no questions about the intelligence and creativity of anyone I talked to. I do have several concerns about the research backgrounds and ethnographic training of the site researchers. The research training of the site researchers varies from some who are still working on their Bachelor's degree to some who have finished their Ph.D.'s....
>
> Cross-Setting Issues
> I'm not sure I really understand what these are as yet. I'll state a concern and later test its legitimacy. One of my biases about case study/participant observer research is that its major potency lies in getting one to know very well a particular/idiosyncratic situation. As the investigator unravels the interconnected nuances he tells a vivid and provocative story. As he abstracts from this story he begins to see it in a framework of concepts hypotheses and testable propositions. If the cross-setting issues are the latter and if there is enough similarity across settings then well enough and good. But, if they are not, and if the uniqueness of each setting gets lost in data collection around some minimally relevant issues than we may be selling out the real strength of the methodology.
>
> Is there a dominant conceptual position in IAP (and should we all swing with it?)
> My impression is that no consistency has been achieved as yet as to the general theoretical stance of the project. I didn't hear any general authority or set of authorities being quoted in terms of a general language system for organizing the theoretical and metatheoretical assumptions of IAP.

I'm not urging a hard line orthodoxy but rather an element of community, a common language that we all have as a core and which we help shape and evolve. In most groups this comes about "naturally," but IAP glued together two existing organizations and hired a heterogeneous collection of individuals. It might be helpful to say, "Let's all start here, have a go at this and see where we end up...."

The Computer Linkage

One of the key issues I went to this conference to learn about was how these data and these ideas would get into a central storage system and be retrieved from that system. Again, I couldn't get a close fix on how this will work. Several concerns arose; first, when people made specific observations, comments or interpretations about some item from one of the settings which I thought had an insightful or penetrating quality I'd ask if it was in the field notes. The sheepish looks, grins and comments suggested that a larger amount than I would have hoped is still in the heads of people and not in the data. The biggest difficulty that I heard related to the time to code the materials. Second, as new ideas and codes arise, such as "co-optation" or "facade" or "dispersal decision" which aren't in the original code how do the earlier items, events and bits get recorded so that they can be retrieved. Third, is there some kind of coding or ancillary library system for position statements (such as the documents prepared for this conference) or papers (such as those being given at SAA), or articles and monographs. In effect, do the entire documents get put in like notes or does an index get coded and the reader referred to a library or file? And what's the difference between a library and a file? Who takes care of it? Who has access to it?

What Controls a Consultative Assistor's Behavior?[3]

In one of the discussions, mostly a lively interchange between Larry who was telling us about Western City and Sara who was trying to pin him down on particulars, a question occurred to me--What controls Larry Masters' actions when he's doing consultative assistance work in Western City? A series of possibilities ran through my head....

The organizational issues in IAP are fascinating as an intellectual problem, potentially frustrating and enervating as an action problem. The February Conference was full of data relevant to IAP as an organization.

FED's Decisions: 10 Settings, 2 Organizations and Lots of Geography

I don't know anything of FED's alternatives but the decision to fund ten sites coast to coast and the decision to accept a proposal from an amalgamation of two organizations distant in geography, different in point of view and with no (or minimal?) history in working together and neither close to where most of the ten sites are has posed problems which are nearly insurmountable in themselves.

---

[3] We return to these issues in Chapter 8.

IAP as Organizational Development

I don't know what people's early perceptions and expectations were regarding the ease of welding together of a new organization but the difficulties in the Regional Labs becoming and remaining viable should have been instructive. The perpetual problem is the high degree of overhead involved in getting ready to tackle the task rather than doing the job itself.

Politics and Democracy in IAP

Mixed in the organizational development issue, the welding of ARC and GPC, is the ideology of the directors of IAP and the ideology of ARC and GPC. As I perceive IAP, there is a commitment to what might roughly be called participatory democracy....

Race and Sex (and Social Class and Religion?) and Equity in IAP

All of the aforementioned problems would be complicated enough in and of themselves. All of them are made infinitely more difficult when the potentiality or actuality of racial and sexual discriminations become a part of the situation (even more here than elsewhere the reader needs his grain, or ton, of salt; I'm writing from the perspective of someone who is white and male). Be all that as it may, I would make several comments:

1. The central leadership of IAP: directors and team leaders are all white and they are all male.
2. To the best of my knowledge, the parent organizations ARC and GPC are similarly constituted.
3. In most (all?) of the sites the children and parents are black and poor.
4. The teachers are a mix of black and white, and to an unknown degree, at least in a couple of sites according to my conversations, from lower class backgrounds.
5. The CA groups, I guess are a mix of male and female, black and white, lower, middle, (and upper?) class backgrounds.
6. To the best of my perception, the leaders of IAP are neither prejudiced nor discriminatory. If anything, "trying too hard" and "patronizing" at times would be my outsider's view.
7. Also intertwined with the above, the "informal," "natural channels" of turning to people one has worked with before--colleagues, co-authors, professor-student--ends up as white and mostly male.
8. I heard mixed reports about both the facts and the implications of the firing of an IAP employee.

These aspects of IAP obviously bear upon issues of equity (and democracy) within the project. They also bear directly on achieving the substantive goals of IAP. In the next several sections I raise some possible alternatives. (PD, Y3)

After addressing this lengthy list of issues, Smith, as advisor, listed strategies for beginning a solution to the problems. These suggestions included restructuring the leadership group to fairly represent the minority groups in the project, to clarify personnel proceedings, such as hiring and firing, institute a grievance procedure and utilize the organizational structure more efficiently. These were all included in a plea to get on with the business of IAP.

> Finally, I guess what I'm arguing for is a place to put these issues and to focus them so they can be solved rather than having the issues eat up the time and energy of IAP and thereby inhibit the awesome amount of work which has been contracted to be accomplished.
>
> Maybe, by way of summary, I'm arguing for a continuous and steady focus on the goals of IAP, that is Inquiry and Consultative Assistance of local groups in urban schools. Each member's day to day behavior can only be partially spelled out formally in written documents. Each person can continually test his actions against those goals and with the help of people in other positions in the organizational structure. (PD, Y3)

The climatic third day of the conference at which the issues surfaced in highly emotional settings seemed to have a cathartic effect on the group. The final day of the conference turned to the business items of IAP. But as always, time ran out.

A letter between two of the February Conference participants vividly illustrates a shift from the first year optimism of the participants.

> February, Y3
>
> Dear __________,
>
> Once again let me say that it was nice meeting and talking with you. I found our conversations a refreshing breath of air in what otherwise seemed a hopeless situation....I might add that I have fairly well resolved myself to the fact that the "war is LOST" so that I need to be looking for other kinds of employment. I have several options open. Meanwhile, I plan to stick around IAP to see what all happens; although I think that we both could predict it.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> __________ (PD, Y3)

In a reaction to our first draft several participants thought we underplayed the importance of the February Conference. One commented about:

> ...the cruel and demeaning interpersonal exchanges at the February Conference. (PD, Y6)

Another who felt the same way said:

> The February Conference was the biggest low point of the project. It was also a key point in the life of the project, because following the conference it was all downhill. The event by itself would make up a case study and the importance of that event in the eventual destruction of the project (our Italics) needs to be taken into account. (PD, Y6)

The intended operational sequence for IAP (see Figure 2.3 of narrative) called for Phase II to begin in September of Year 3. In general, the purpose of Phase II was to articulate what had been learned in the inquiry phase with the needs of practitioners in the CA sites; in short, articulate research and practice. Much of the IAP energy in the first six months of Y3 was consumed developing a working plan to achieve the Phase II goals. A conference scheduled for July was to put the final polish on these plans.

3.2 The July Conference

A letter to an advisor invited him to three days of discussion sessions and then to "a 'barbeque on the mountain' with staff to celebrate finishing the report [the Phase II Plan]...." (PD, Y3). Anticipation of the conference seemed to be characterized by productive and affectively pleasant expectations.

An important planning document released to the IAP staff in June of Y3 offered for critique plans for Phase II. The document dealt with strategies and redefinitions of the basic IAP tasks but also reflected two strategic and strikingly different approaches to management. These sections were entitled "Regionalization" and "Decision making in Phase II." Short excerpts follow.

> Regionalization
>
> We should plan on regionalizing the CA efforts in Phase II in Eastern City, Central City and Western City. In Central and Western Cities we must develop CA strategies from the strengths of ARC and GPC. The Eastern City strategy will be guided in development by the inquiry that has already taken place. We must find organizational structures that allow people to work in more closely integrated teams. This must be done in the framework of serving the articulation goal. We need to build systematic and agreed upon procedures for cross-team and cross-region interaction that do not distract but support and stimulate the local work. This in short is the organizational design problem of IAP in Phase II.
>
> Decision Making in Phase II
>
> IAP has suffered in the past from unclear decision making processes which has perpetuated the myth that decisions are made by equal democratic participation. As indicated in the memo of May, a leadership group expanded beyond the current team leaders will be in place for Phase II. This group, headed by Roy, and made up of key staff people in terms of their overall responsibilities for the project will be the major decision making group for the project. (PD, Y3)

Despite the "integrated," "cross-team" and "cross-regional" rhetoric of the section, it implicitly says each center will proceed independently. The pink fog of harmony had begun to lift. Even more startling is the phrase "the myth that decisions are made by equal democratic participation" [emphasis ours]. Though possibly very accurate, the phrase heralded a significant shift in attitude or view point of the IAP organization.

Comments followed almost immediately on these sections.

> The regionalization idea should solve a variety of problems. (PD, Y3)

And,

> The Decision Making Proposal...seems a major change....What has happened to the Leadership Group? Can you make it stick? Will it produce personnel turnover, motivational problems, apathy, etc.? Strategies for handling these problems if they occur? (PD, Y3)

Further explanation regarding the shift in approach to decision making closely followed in the form of a memo in which the conflict between the ideals of participatory democracy and organizational efficiency becomes apparent. That conflict is highlighted in a quote that follows:

> Another criterion for decision-making which I think is vital is that the decision-making structure must maintain a balance between collaboration and efficiency within the organization. Collaboration is the key to this project, not only because of our values and needs for developing ownership, but a substantive part of the project requires decisions that cross areas which are usually considered separate, specifically research and action. The expertise of different staff members in different areas of decisions should be directly tapped in making of those decisions. Decision-making structures should be designed to maximize input from staff people so that people who will be directly affected by the decision have a voice in its foundation. Nevertheless, IAP's purpose is not to provide experience in decision-making nor an experiment in participative democracy. We are a research project with a task to be accomplished. The discipline of that task requires efficiency in decision-making processes. Thus, a balance between mutuality and efficiency must be maintained. (PD, Y3)

The same management issues surfaced in the Phase I Report to FED. In a section labeled "Management Generalizations from Phase I" the authors addressed the problems of geography, unintended difficulty of ARC and GPC working together because of differences in style and structure, and again, the "myth of participatory democracy" as a mode of decision making. This time, explicitly the document called for (1) restructuring of the decision making group moving to an "executive team" that links authority to responsibility, and (2) regionalization and a re-examination of the way ARC and GPC should relate.

Against this backdrop the plans for the July Conference were completed. The expected outcomes were listed in early July as:

1. Firm decisions about organization structure
2. Develop meaningful sub-project and plans for products....
3. Allocation of Resources for Phase II
4. Designation of staff....
5. An overall conceptual framework....
6. Ways to interpret the July Conference to people who were not there

(PD, Y3)

The momentum established in the meetings and resulting documents of May and June set the stage for a coup-de-grace at the July Conference. As a foregone conclusion regionalization was accomplished and a simplified, one man at the top organizational structure was implemented. The new IAP director was Roy Taylor. Most participants sighed with relief and believed the new structures would clear the way for real work to be accomplished in Phase II.

Some persons had serious concerns. Two advisors spoke out in separate memos. The first advisor spoke of possible functions and dysfunctions of the decision, but his concluding paragraphs read as follows:

> IAP remains in my eyes a project on significant problems in urban educational research and educational practice, that is in knowledge utilization. I hope Roy is right that the major organizational problems are settled. I'm eager to begin to see some of the intellectual and practical fruits of the labor.
>
> A final concern, and an obvious one, at least it was present in many of Roy's statements, is the consequence of regionalization, pluralism and other changes on the integrity and identity of IAP as a single project. I share that concern. Now in reflecting a couple of weeks later, I'm trying to recall specific organizational action taken to insure that the identity and integrity grows. I don't see it and I keep coming back to the need for a replacement of someone of Randy's stature who will continuously be pushing for superordinate conceptions and syntheses, for seeing the project as a whole. Two logical possibilities are Roy or Rich, but I think they will be swamped with continuing administrative and supervisory responsibilities. Maybe I'm thinking overly simply about organizations, but if there is a major outcome to be realized, someone with time, energy, and relevant talents has got to be tagged with the responsibility. (PD, Y3)

Concern was echoed and expanded by another advisor. His memo began with a diagnosis of IAP and he listed the now familiar problems.

> It appears that there is fair amount of agreement that the project had several major problems during Phase I. One was the tensions produced and energy spent dealing with two centers, two styles, and many miles. A second was the expectations created and frustration accumulated in the effort to run the project in a participatory way. A third was conflict around issues of race and sex, and a fourth was the schedule IAP was on. (PD, Y3)

He added a fifth issue to the list of problems:

> I thought many of IAP's problems were exacerbated by tensions and contradictions in its mission. (PD, Y3)

He saw the results of these issues in the tensions and conflicts characterized as "stylistic, regional, organizational and interpersonal/intergroup." The advisor attributed the plans to centralize decision making and regionalization as a way to deal with the issues but he spoke further of an unspoken agenda of the move to regionalize IAP's efforts. He reported:

> But, in addition, regionalization seems to be a way of dealing with some political, racial, and sex-role conflicts. The evidence I noticed suggested that regionalization is thought to permit Easter-City to have more autonomy, and Eastern City is seen as both a very political collection of people and sites, and as a minority/female operation. Giving Eastern City more room seems to be a way of dealing with intra-IAP differences about politics, views of change, and sex/race matters, all of which have often created problems between them and the rest of IAP. (PD, Y3)

He continued:

> I expect that in many respects these organizational changes will be gains: for all the reasons outlined here, the project will be more comfortable. Several major sources of conflict and uneasiness will be reduced, and that will help. But I can't find any evidence that these changes will, in and of themselves, much increase IAP's capacity to grapple successfully with its mission. Helpful as the organizational changes may be in some ways, I don't think they are terribly likely to be helpful in ways which bear strongly on the substance of the organization's work. (PD, Y3)

The advisor then assessed two problems he described as "intrinsic" to IAP. One, there are tensions and differences in the IAP mandate itself. Two, there are clear mismatches between tasks and personnel. The tensions to which he refers stem from such assumptions as: "articulation from practice to knowledge to practice can occur," "what knowledge is, what forms it ought to come in and what good and bad practice are," and finally that, "IAP's job is to *do* good articulation, to show *how* to do it, rather than to see *if* it can be done." [Emphasis his.] All of this, says the advisor, is based on "heavy hopes about help--which rest on thin experiential and scientific ice." The final tension stems from IAP's time table. One which the advisor feels is ludicrously short for such an undertaking.

The second inherent problem was the mismatch of staff and tasks. In his own words:

> These disorders of the mandate would be very hard to manage for the most experienced, wise, and case-hardened group. But the IAP staff is neither experienced in this area, case-hardened, nor wise in the ways required. The staff is bright, mostly young, and mostly very committed to solving problems and helping kids in city schools. But the terms of the project present one of the most ancient and difficult sets of issues: What is good practice in social policy? How do we know it? How can we explain it to ourselves and others? How can others learn to do it better? These are issues on which there are old and profoundly divided schools of thought; they are issues on which there are voluminous literatures and well-established traditions of practice; that is to say, IAP presents some of the oldest puzzles in social policy. But the IAP staff--for all its virtues and appeal--is not mature in these same problems and issues. To wit:
>
> -- The staff is for most part not steeped in the relevant research, the traditions of thought, or practice. The people are mostly young, few have advanced degrees, most of those who have practiced have done so only for a few years.

> --Similarly, most people seem to be deeply committed, for personal, political, or ideological reasons, to one and only one way of seeing change, problem-solving, and so on. This in a field of endeavor which has long been lacking in thoughtful detachment about its own varied assumptions. In a project which is supposed to help practitioners and researchers see past their immediate ways of thought and operation to other ways, this seems unhelpful. Ironically, the one part of IAP's staff that is intimately familiar with some large areas of the relevant literature--GPC is committed to one of the main traditions of thought and practice. At least in the view of other IAP staff members and some observers, this commitment is so strong as to preclude GPC from seriously entertaining other approaches. This is paralleled by the attitude of at least some Eastern City staff members that the really important element in change is politics and the uses of power--especially community power. And elsewhere on the staff there seem to be other, equally strongly held filters. The most common of these is that research should be useful in a direct and immediate way, or it is politically and morally questionable. (PD, Y3)

He concludes:

> Out of all this--regardless of whatever organization IAP chose to adopt--there would be a natural tendency to produce work which had a beginning character. It would be a beginning on the problem of innovation; a beginning on observation about the role of knowledge in school change; a beginning on the problems of linkage, and so on. Like most work of this sort it would tend to be weakly articulated, to be hurriedly done and short on mature reflection; it would have a general feeling of very partial digestion. That is reasonable to expect from work which is based on lots of on-the-job training. And my estimate seems consistent with the work done thus far. (PD, Y3)

All of this led to this advisor's critical warning.

> I think there is good reason to expect that regionalization will make things worse--that it will tend to erode the quality of IAP's products. I expect that if things continue on course regionalization will encourage people to learn less about the various other ways of seeing problems, innovation, and the roles of knowledge in it all. It will encourage people to retreat back behind their old, well-worn and comfortable filters. In general it would tend to encourage parochialism.
>
> It seems fairly clear to me that this won't be good for IAP's written results. The reduction of intellectual exchange, and the reduction of situations which help staffers to explore other ways of seeing the data and learning how their filters affect what they see, will tend to thin out the material IAP reports and weaken its conceptual grip on it. The result of regionalization, I think, will thus be to strengthen the forces already at work in IAP which make it difficult for the staff to deal effectively with the project's mandate. I expect the quality of the research and analysis would

> therefore suffer. Regionalization will quite likely improve the quality of life in IAP, but I'd be very surprised if it improved the quality of work. After all, part of the motive for the new organization is precisely to reduce the tensions which intellectual and ideological conflict produced. (PD, Y3)

Despite the questionable outcomes of centralization of decision making and regionalization the implementation produced a sigh of relief from GPC. It produced a rattled ARC-Eastern City group whose plans were narrowed and modified for they had wanted to become a Consultative Assistance (CA) site, but a July Conference decision held them to just inquiry activity. And, perhaps, it produced the last straw that broke the proverbial camel's back in the internal workings of ARC.

3.3 The End of the Year

Meanwhile, partly concomitantly, partly casually, and partly as result of the events in IAP and other parts of ARC, conflict had been brewing between the two leaders and cofounders of ARC, the Applied Research Center. One of the leaders felt the constant pressure from FED in the form of a perceived constant flow of criticism. Because the major managerial tasks had fallen more and more to him, he also received the first volleys of external criticism. He became perceived more and more as the project's administration and felt slighted and prevented from participating in the intellectual realms of IAP. The other was caught up in finishing other projects at ARC, soliciting new funds, helping keep ARC from becoming a one-contract shop. The issues in the conflict rippled through their lives--personal, intellectual, emotional, family, social, professional, financial, organizational. It seeped into and enlarged every crack and crevice. The issues flared to the point that these two men, friends for eight to ten years, avoided one another and turned the issue over to ARC's executive board for a decision. The board agonized over the matter, hired an interim director to run ARC and waited. Finally, the ideological dissenter left ARC and developed his own organization. The split shook ARC at its roots. Many of the staff migrated with the one leader. Friends and colleagues of many years who had looked on during the process described it as "a painful, messy divorce."

As the old IAP organization struggled towards its streamlined Phase II self, yet another quake shook the already quivering ediface. This last quake of IAP's second year came from without in the form of powerful and severe criticisms to IAP's first round of documents. The criticisms were issued by an independent group of reviewers gathered by FED.

In order to avoid a lengthy and redundant treatment of the findings of the reviewers and FED's conclusions based on those findings, perhaps one paragraph of IAP's response to FED's critical October letters will suffice to illustrate the situation.

> One result of the extensive internal and external review of IAP during the past eight months is that it is now clear that FED and IAP have quite different perceptions regarding IAP's Phase II potential based on its Phase I work. The IAP staff and leadership are convinced that the hard work of reshaping the organizational structure and clarifying the project's purposes, which were the

> main outcomes of the review process and Phase II planning, have decisively increased the project's Phase II potential. The staff's current level of productivity and morale is high. You and your colleagues, on the other hand, in looking back on Phase I accomplishments, have expressed grave concern with Phase II potential to the extent that you have put the project on notice that the contract will be terminated at the end of Phase II if there is not a markedly-increased amount of acceptable quality work." (PD, Y3)

No matter as to the disagreement, the message from FED was clearly "do or die." From within and from without, pressures on the IAP team continued to mount.

4. THE THIRD YEAR (Y4)

4.1 The Restructuring

The July Conference's regionalization decision turned conflict and lack of consensus into the virtue of pluralism and solved many of the day-to-day problems. The organizational chart was simplified. We reproduce it as Figure 5.1.

Insert Figure 5.1 about here

No longer were there Co Directors of IAP. Roy Larsen of ARC was now overall Project Director. ARC was the prime contractor with the FEDs. GPC had a subcontract. All of the Far Western City Consultative Assistance work was handled through Western City's GPC staff. No one in GPC was responsible for Field Research. The Central City Region was strictly a Consultative Assistance effort working out of the ARC offices. The Inquiry Team also operated out of the ARC offices and had responsibility for a half-dozen field researchers and their case studies. The Formative Evaluation Team operated out of Central City with field researchers observing the CA efforts in both Far West and Central City. The Eastern City Region, which had hoped to become a third Consultative Assistance Site continuted to be staffed by the original Field Researchers and took on an important articulation task. The Phase II plans clarify the intent of the activities. The end of Year 3 and all of Year 4 were busy times for everyone in IAP. The organization produced a prodigious quantity of work in the form of position papers from every part of IAP, cross-setting analytical papers, new drafts of case studies, and descriptive and theoretical accounts from the consultative assistance efforts. In spite of original hopes and dreams of "good conversations" and self-evident improved practices in urban schools, the test for IAP became the written document. IAP was to be judged on what many felt to be inappropriate criteria and what certainly was not their strongest suit.

To capture these activities we focus on the several units within the new organizational chart as they intertwine with the three broad strands of IAP's original charge: Inquiry, Consultative Assistance, and Articulation.

4.2 The Inquiry Effort

The Inquiry Group's legacy of problems remained central to its own functioning and had repercussions throughout other parts of IAP because the Consultative Assistance work was to be built upon the knowledge generated.

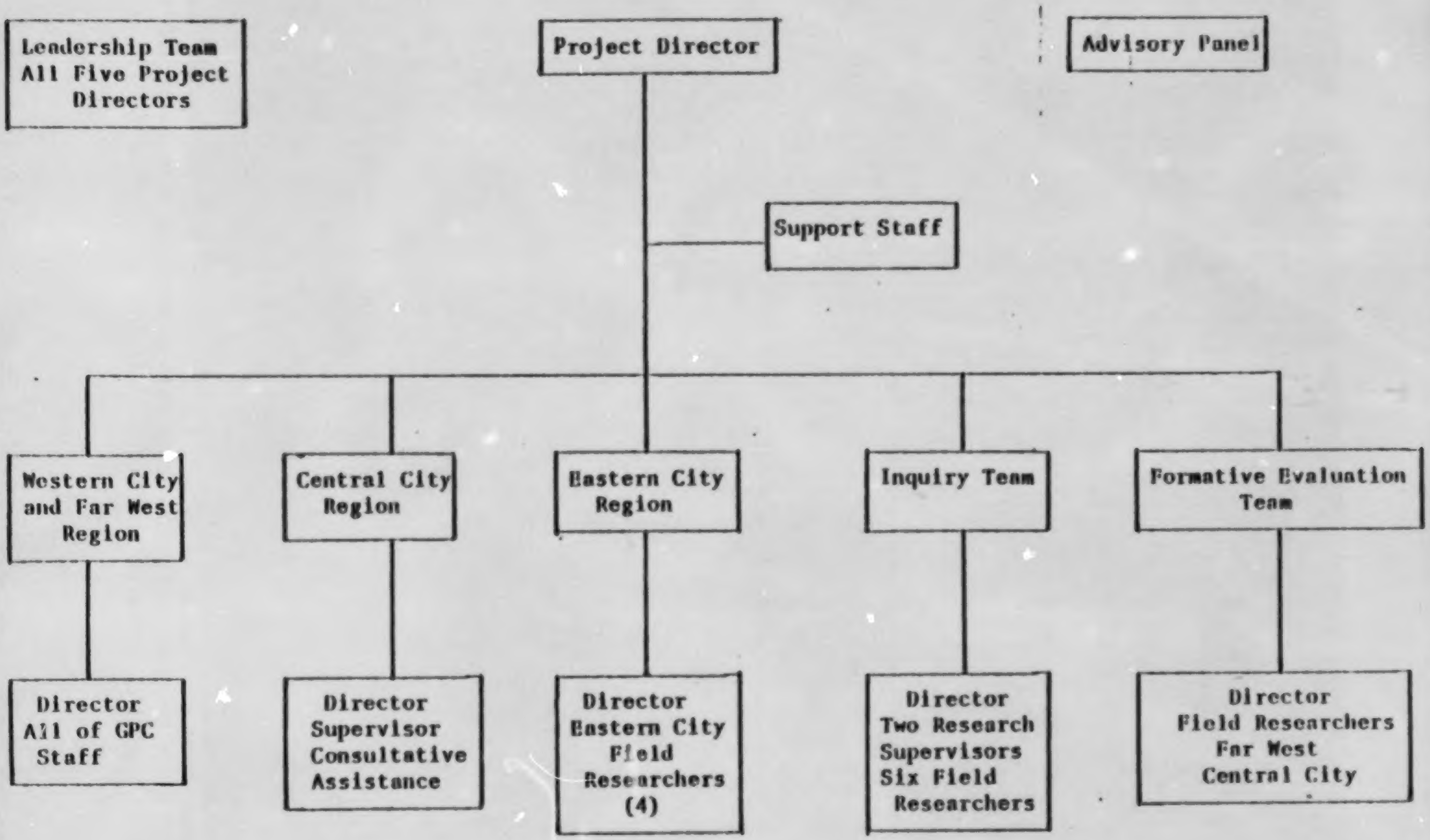

Leadership Team All Five Project Directors
Project Director
Advisory Panel
Support Staff
Western City and Far West Region
Central City Region
Eastern City Region
Inquiry Team
Formative Evaluation Team
Director All of GPC Staff
Director Supervisor Consultative Assistance
Director Eastern City Field Researchers (4)
Director Two Research Supervisors Six Field Researchers
Director Field Researchers Far West Central City

Figure 5.1 IAP Organizational Chart for Phase II, Year 4 (PD, Y4)

The Articulation effort, the conceptualization of the linkage of research, theory and practice, depended on learning from the CA settings. New people with Ph.D. research qualifications were hired at the Research Supervisor level to bring order into the case study products and the various analysis papers growing out of multiple setting comparisons. One of these individuals, a black male, stayed six months and took a university position. Another individual left within a year to join former ARC Co Director, Randy Jennings, in his new organization. Two others stayed until the notice of terminal funding. One might have stayed longer but for conflict with the IAP Director. The third moved to a more permanent R & D position in a university context. A number of additional personnel with a variety of titles--librarian, editor, research assistant and so forth moved through the project helping shore up the multiple analysis and writing efforts.

Earlier portions of this narrative recounted the issues that deterred the inquiry efforts of IAP. To recap, the issues included 1) the decision to hire young, minimally experienced, and in most instances, culturally sensitive researchers and train them, 2) difficulties in the training process, 3) questions regarding value of the field sites themselves, 4) time pressures and difficulties deciding on how the research should be conducted and on what problems or foci the FRs should attend, and 5) usually minimal and sometimes conflicting supervision. Despite the problems, the case studies were to be a major product, delayed now for Y4. In addition, the Consultative Assistance efforts were to be accelerated and that program's strategy was to be based on what was learned in the Ten Setting projects.

By February of Y4, six case studies had been submitted in preliminary form, three were in progress and the status of the tenth was in serious question. In fact, it was not known with certainty that data had been generated in sufficient amounts at that site from which a case study could be written. The alleged problem here was regarded as one of co-optation of the researcher by the site or as one where the FR had clearly "ripped off" IAP as one participant put it. Originally hired FRs did not complete the field work in one-third of the sites. And at two of the sites, FRs were replaced twice. At least nine IAP personnel were involved extensively in the rewriting of the case studies; some worked as editors; others worked practically as ghostwriters. In one instance, the FR data was rejected and the author worked from records and notes kept by the Setting Project Director.

Internal Perspectives

During Year 4, within IAP ranks concern over the quality of the field work reached frantic proportions. An effective demonstration of the progressive nature of that anxiety is displayed in three memos regarding the case studies as written by one of the newer research coordinators. The three memos serially appeared between February and December of Y4. Excerpts from each follow.

> February, Year 4:
>
> (The following comments are based on my own personal experiences in preparing "case studies" for the Bureau of Education in three other projects.) If I were an outside reviewer called in to assess the usefulness of the project and the value of the projected products at this stage, I would be very disappointed. Because:

1. The documents I have read are more case histories than case studies....
2. No real sense of what the projects did or felt like comes through.
3. There are no real surprises; no exciting, unexpected insights suddenly emerge.
4. I can't find any real focus....
5. They are not uniformly formated.
6. Levels of description and analysis are not carefully distinguished either in the heads of the investigators or in the written documents.
7. Anthropology and ethnography are cheapened. This is easiest seen in the constant use of the term "culture" and its derivatives.
8. There is a confusion as to what constitutes "data."

CONCLUSION:

Just one!

Getting together good case studies is going to take a lot of elbow to elbow work between the supervisors and the field researchers. We, the former, need to make sure they understand what a case study is and what the nature of the project they are documenting is. (PD, Y4)

November, Year 4:

You have all told me that this case study is the best of the lot. I sincerely hope FED has much lower expectations than I do. This is an awful product. If it had not been for the efforts of the editor it would be totally unacceptable.

I do not accept the responsibility. I have spent countless hours trying to help the FR think through and rewrite it. It has been horribly frustrating, made tolerable only by her good spirit and willingness. This past weekend alone, I spent every working minute editing and rewriting. One day of mine and half a day of hers was given to making some sense out of the conclusions which the editor hadn't gotten to. They are still disturbingly vacuous.

I have seen worse writing as a teacher, but this is supposed to be a professional effort. Either the editor or I have had to recast virtually every sentence in the report. Much of it is still tedious and awkward and only tenuously tied into a coherent whole.

I have tried to do what I can to remedy these deficiencies by personally redoing the conclusions and adding an introductory chapter of my own. This chapter was necessary since no clear sense of what the project was all about comes through in the text, nor does the rationale for the organization.

Writing is only one of the problems. There is no evidence that the FR ever visited more than one actual class. Every tedious example is the verbatim transcript of some meeting. There is no "story line" that holds the thing together. (PD, Y4)

> December, Year 4:
>
> The case studies I am working with are almost unmitigated debacles. In so far as they are useful it is largely because the "firemen" [staff brought in to assist the FRs] have been able to pull together bits and pieces of information from the air and from peoples' heads. As a result none of them develops strong analytic themes or adds anything substantial to what is known about schooling or school innovation.
>
> **There is no rich, coherent data base from which conclusions emerge**--the sine qua non for building grounded theory. (PD, Y4)

The last memo brought an angry retort from one of IAP's leaders.

> As usual, some of your comments are perceptive and directly on the beam and some are totally off the wall and manifest an extremely immature style of trying to make sense of experience. I'm surprised, saddened and irritated. I don't have time to write a full response but I do want to share some thoughts with you.
>
> Yes, I'm not satisfied with the case studies. No, they're not debacles. I share with you the feeling that important elements of life in those settings are missing. As you could see from my comments, I shared your concerns in many of these issues. (PD, Y4)

Reading through the bitterness of the memos one still senses the frustration and despair surrounding the case studies.

Bitterness, frustration and despair also characterized the attitude of many of the FRs for they felt isolated, discounted and cheated in terms of the promised training and support they felt they never received. Retrospectively one of the field researchers commented on their collective plight:

> My understanding of the project was "Inquiry and Consultative Assistance." We were supposed to go inquire, they [the articulation people] would upon our data reflect and devise consultative assistance strategy. That never happened. They started doing technical assistance before we ever did any research....I could have discovered a miracle over again, they couldn't use it because they were so far gone. So it was a waste. And we had two separate little projects going on and that was it. There was no reality ever in that project--ever. And I did it that way from the beginning. I did my own little research. I always knew it was gonna be piled in the garbage can anyway, and I think that's why everybody's so heartbroken about the whole outcome, and I knew it, I just knew it from the beginning that it was gonna be piled in the garbage can. (TI, Y5)

We were told further of the bitterness of some of the FRs at the extensive rewriting of their case studies. Some felt that they hardly recognized their own work. This complaint, of course, operates both ways. One person editing a case study expressed extreme frustration of the fact that the study in question was in its eighth draft. Perhaps the final irony was despite the energy devoted to the case studies, the set was not completed in time to be reviewed in the final decision-making process regarding the continuation of IAP. Their quality, good or bad, was never an issue in the final decision. The image of the project's "albatross" mentioned earlier poignantly returns.

The Computer Data System

A story, many ways parallel to the case study situation, actually intersected or complicated the case study problems. That story is the failure of IAP to develop the sophisticated computer system of which they dreamed. The computer was an integral part of IAP's facade and was described as developmental or as an accomplishment in various IAP progress reports. But from the beginning the system, both hardware and software, was a major bone of contention between ARC and GPC and between the research coordinators and the field researchers. One of the research coordinators recalled:

> Ah, the computer, the whole business with the computer. We were supposed to come up with the code book....That was a real foreshadowing....We got into great conceptual fights. Great, not in fun, but as in horrendous.

Another reflection:

> Yeah. I was fascinated. That's the problem with a lot of stuff in IAP. It was--everywhere you looked it was fascinating...but it was hard to maintain a good strong focus....I felt like a kid...as we were working out that computer system we were really forced into thinking about qualitative data and how you might index it....There were all these fascinating little chinks that would have been a study in itself. (TI, YS)

Another participant saw the computer's development as complicated by FRs who didn't really understand qualitative data and research coordinators who couldn't agree on a conceptual scheme on which to base the indexing system. Finally, there was the methodology or discipline differences between ARC and GPC.

> Paul said keep it simple. He said borrow from his research experiences...that you often get more data than you could use....But the reason it was hard for me to accept that, other people too, is that simply meant use his conceptual scheme....Sometimes I didn't feel like he had as much appreciation as he should have to settle a piece of qualitative data....But...well, it may have been the best thing to do given this IAP concept. (TI, YS)

The system that evolved was for field researchers to put their observations on field forms (ffs). These were then sent to the coordinators for review and coding. One coordinator commented:

> There was so much going on it was fascinating, but there was never really time to deal thoroughly like I like to deal with things. I really like to...work it to death....We coded some of the first stuff....There were so many disagreements, and I knew there would be...but it was more than I suspected....I guess the response was to bring the coding to Central City and hire someone to really be in charge of supervising coding.

This produced yet another problem.

> Well, it was done except the real problem was that coding was very close to an analytical process when they worked qualitative data into content codes. And it really should have been researcher kind of people doing it. Maybe even ideally the people who ultimately were going to use and try to use it for analysis....What the computer copies, you could have that without a computer. It has not been that helpful to me. (TI, YS)

Another final comment was that the system developed into a much more intricate problem than IAP had the financial resources to develop and maintain. Work on the system was finally abandoned. FED wondered why it had not been abandoned much earlier.

4.3 The Consultative Assistance Efforts[4]

Regionalization provided the opportunity for IAP to get on with its CA work. The integrity of GPC was restored, the "family" went to work in Far Western City. Local personnel were hired to carry on the day-to-day work, one member moved from Western City to Far Western City. Others commuted once a month. The Central City CA efforts consolidated into efforts mostly in one school and mostly in one district within the public schools. The GPC group was mostly white, possessed a larger amount of experienced staff, contained most of the staff with a history and reputation for being theorists and had the major credentials in prior publications. Their interests were more in group and organizational processes at the faculty level. The Central City group was totally black with no white or other ethnic minority staff. The school community in which they worked was all black. The thrust of their activities was more in parent and school faculty efforts that had direct impact on children. Thematically they were concerned with what came to be called Cultural Continuity, the African roots or heritage of the urban black community.

Western/Far Western Cities Region

The theoretical rationale for Western City activities were presented in a model in the Plan II Planning Document. We reproduce it here as Figure 5.2. The background for this perspective is found in two paragraphs from the plans.

> For those of us of the Western region, the inquiry and consultative assistance components of the IAP project have been considered equal in priority and significance throughout Phase I. We have assumed that inquiry and consultative assistance must be necessarily interactive and interdependent in relation to building an effective school improvement strategy. Because of this assumption, we put equal weight on establishing relationships and collecting information on the two fronts of inquiry and consultative assistance

---

[4] The bare outline of the CA activities is presented here. In Chapter 9 we present a more detailed analytic and interpretive account of these activities.

during Phase I. Within the context of the total five year IAP plan, we put equal emphasis on both functions in order to build a mature and useful action research design for Phase II.

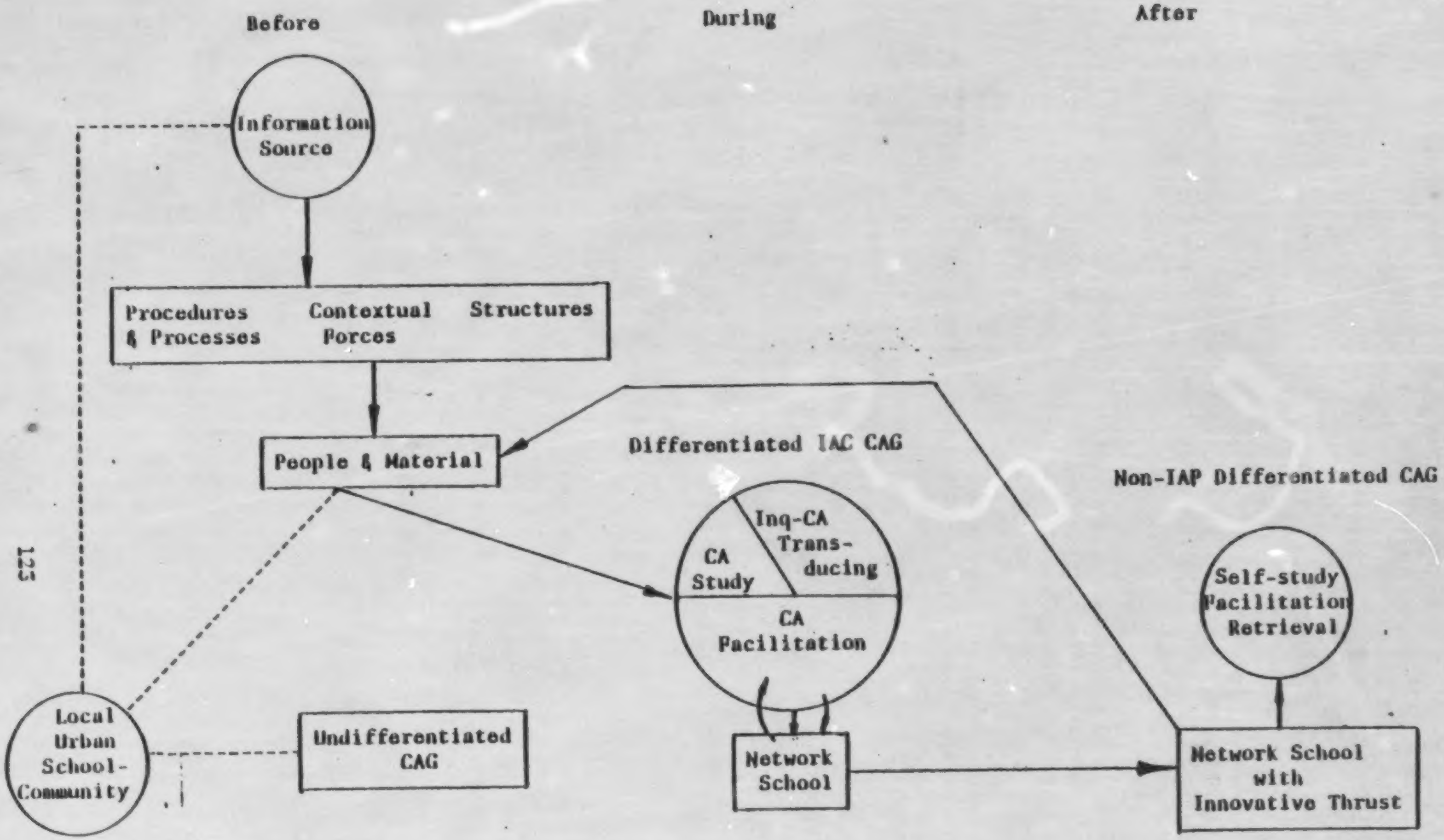
In our efforts at documentation, we build communication channels to the Ten Settings, monitored the data coming from each setting, focused on several themes that were present across the Ten Settings, and retrieved relevant data from other literature and from our own past research and development. In our consultative assistance work, we established collaborative working relationships with key people in the Far West Public Schools, studied the dynamics of stability and change in Far West City, negotiated a mutually beneficial relationship with the Superintendent's office, and established consultative relationship with the innovative district-wide subsystem called the Teaching Strategy Organization (TSO) and with several schools.

While pursuing activities on these two fronts during Phase I, we were also searching proactively for a few genotypic themes related to knowledge utilization and innovation. We observed that virtually all of our school sites manifested strong concern for instructional improvement. Each site was faced with inventing alternative instructional strategies for helping more and more students to master basic skills. Each was searching for more effective ways of facilitating student self-esteem and for making the classroom and school in general more humane. Furthermore, most of the school sites showed significant interest in building more productive relationship with parents and other community members. The school's alienation from its clientele and its need to construct new bridges between professionals and clients were common themes. Third, many of the school sites, as well as the consultative assistance groups we observed, manifested concern for making more effective use of outside resources, whether in the form of information, materials, or people. Thus, as a guide for our Phase II design, we have assumed that actions taken by school people on the above three themes represent the most prominent contemporary needs for knowledge utilization and innovation in urban education.

Insert Figure [illegible].2 about here

More concretely, the group focused on several subprojects: 1) continuing the theoretical thrust and efforts from earlier work and producing a final monograph on "Changing the School's Potential for Innovation," and 2)...

> In Subproject No. 2 we shall implement a training design for key urban educators (two dozen Assistant Principals for Instruction) to demonstrate how concepts and techniques of innovation might be used to improve urban school communities. The macro-design for the training will be constituted of two major parts: an intensive workshop and a continuous series of seminars. (PD, Y3)


Before
During
After
Information Source
Procedures & Processes
Contextual Forces
Structures
People & Material
Differentiated IAC CAG
Inq-CA Transducing
CA Study
CA Facilitation
Network School
Non-IAP Differentiated CAG
Self-study Facilitation Retrieval
Network School with Innovative Thrust
Local Urban School-Community
Undifferentiated CAG

Legend
CA = Consultative Assistance
CAG = Consultative Assistance Group
Inq = Inquiry
IAC = Inquiry, and Consultative Assistance to Urban Schools

Figure 5.2 The GPC Region Model

The remaining half-dozen efforts involved consultation at the Central Office level, consultation in a high school, developing an innovative parent involvement demonstration program, beginning to develop a dissemination network, and finally, carrying out an empirical reflective self-study of the group's effort. It was a large, integrated, imaginative agenda. Later, in Chapter 8, we address the effort more analytically.

Central City Region

The Central City CA model appeared in the Phase II Planning Document also. We reproduce it as Figure 5.3 The underlying rationale of the effort appeared in three introductory paragraphs.

> A glance at contemporary literature in the field of education reveals a recurrent emphasis upon urban schools and their apparent failure to educate youth residing in America's central cities. As the population of our cities became increasingly non-white, attention to issues in urban education also increased dramatically. Although much of the recent literature has promoted the "victim analysis" syndrome, educators and other citizens concerned about substantially inproving urban schools must look beyond the myths generated about the racial and cultural characteristics of inner-city residents in order to effectively address the educational needs of urban school communities.
>
> Since Myrdal identified educational inquality as a major factor contributing to the persistence of the "American Dilemma," we have witnessed a series of faltering attempts by policy makers and educators to resolve the problem of improving the educational experiences of blacks in this country. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in the case of Brown vs. the Topeka, Kansas Board of Education identified racial integration as the solution, but in the wake of the violence and "white flight" which has accompanied enforcement of this landmark decision--first in the South and now in the North's urban centers--the efficacy of this approach has been questioned by some educators. We have also witnessed popularization of the theory that blacks and other non-white and/or low-income urban dwellers are "culturally deficient" and seen the proliferation of compensatory education programs based on this fallacious model.
>
> The IAP Central City Region Consultative Assistance Group's on-going analysis of urban educational theory and practice has led to the conclusion that successful learning programs in urban schools must recognize and build upon the individual and cultural strengths of students, parents, teachers, administrators, and other school community members. This principle will continue to undergird our efforts in Phase II as we identify, develop, and support innovative capacities in the Central City Public Schools. (PD, Y4)

More concretely, the model and the rationale undergirded a half-dozen subprojects: co-operative staff development at the central office level, development of an open education program in a demonstration school, creation of a parent participation program, contributions to an early childhood program, initiation of a peer tutoring project, and the planning of a career education program. Overall, it was a responsive set of initiatives carrying on important latent message regarding positive cultural continuities.[5]

Insert Figure 5.3 about here

4.4 The Articulation Efforts

During Phase II, IAP marshalled itself for several major thrusts to move toward the articulation goals, what the project had learned about school innovation per se and how to help other schools improve through building structures for planned change. Specifically, we will raise four interrelated activities. The Eastern City Branch had a series of seminars collating, summarizing, and synthesizing the experience from the Ten Settings. The Formative Evaluation Group, observing and assessing IAP's internal operation in general and the two Consultative Assistance settings, was moving toward its analysis, synthesis, and write up. Third, a series of analysis papers, which were to reach three dozen in number, were appearing throughout the system, on key conceptions, cross-setting synthesis, and important themes relevant to the project's charge. And, finally, in late October of Year IV, a project-wide meeting, The Articulation Conference" occurred in which a synthesis of findings from Phases I and II would be developed. That synthesis would then be the springboard for a two-year Phase III effort. IAP was busy and hard at work.

Eastern City Branch

Perhaps more than any other part of the IAP organization, the Eastern City Branch was the step-sister of IAP. They had come to the July Conference with plans to convert from an Inquiry oriented office to becoming a third Consultative Assistance setting, to match the efforts at Far Western City and Central City. Those plans did not make it through the discussions. Resources were short. Earlier case study products had not been finished. Needs to collate and codify the case study experience pressed hard upon IAP. Ready, willing, able or not the Eastern City Group were thrown into the Articulation breech.

The Planning Document speaks explicitly to this agenda:

> The consultation assistance work in IAP has been built in part upon the previous experiences of ARC and GPC in providing consultative assistance to schools. The goal of the Eastern City work is to develop ideas about and strategies for consultative assistance based on the ethnographic data from the ten funded settings. Thus, the Eastern City Region will be exploring the possibilities of developing specific practices from basic research information, and providing IAP with another perspective on articulating research with practice.

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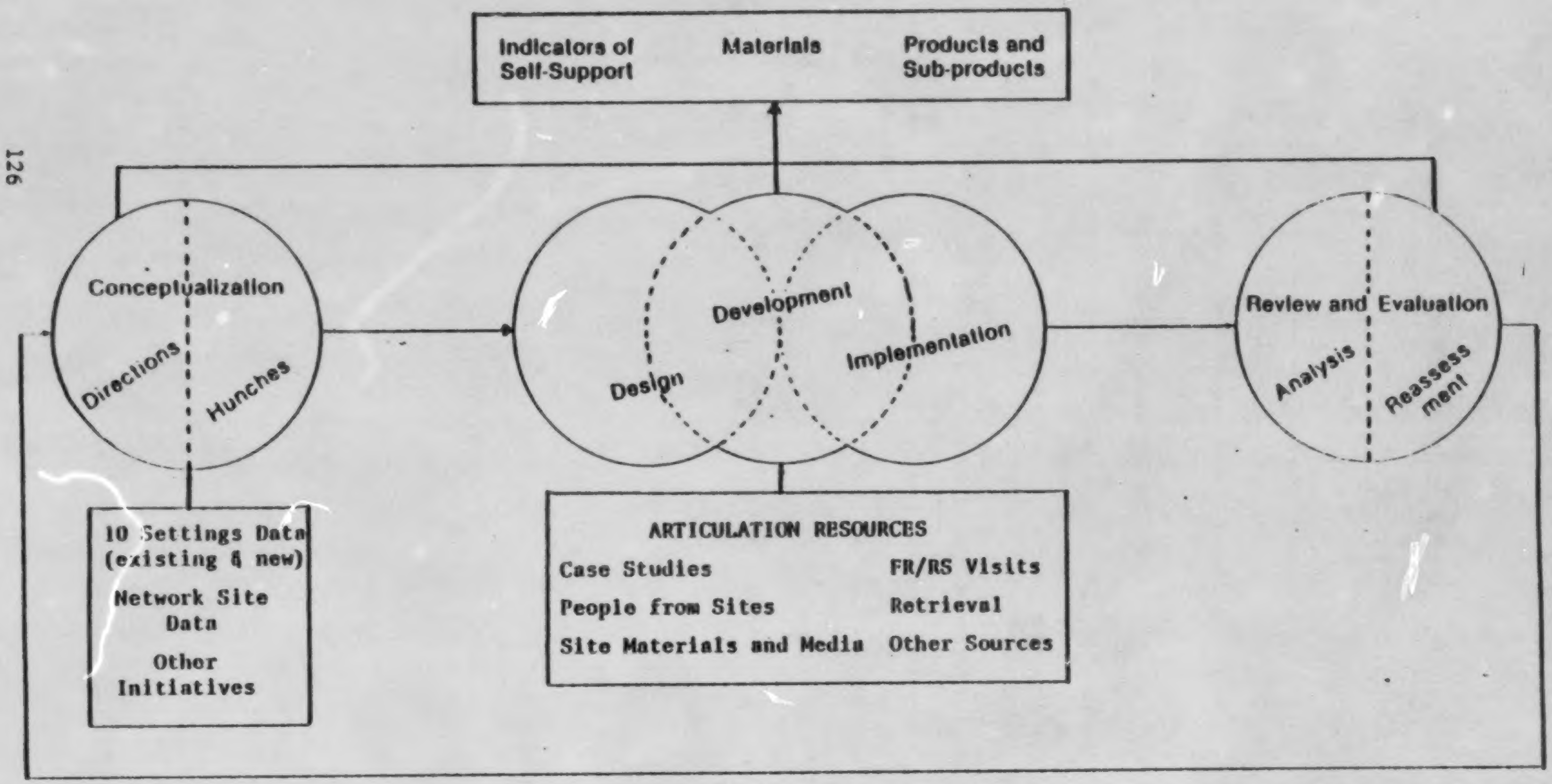
[5] In Chapter 8 we explore more analytically the substantive activities.


Indicators of Self-Support
Materials
Products and Sub-products
Conceptualization
Directions
Hunches
10 Settings Data (existing & new)
Network Site Data
Other Initiatives
Design
Development
Implementation
ARTICULATION RESOURCES
Case Studies
People from Sites
Site Materials and Media
FR/RS Visits
Retrieval
Other Sources
Review and Evaluation
Analysis
Reassess ment

FR = Field Researchers
RS = Research Supervisors

Figure 5.3 Central City's CA Model

The Eastern City plan is designed to take advantage of the assets of the Eastern City Region. These include:

1. A multicultural and multiskilled staff including four field researchers. The staff has had significant experience observing diverse innovative strategies. They are committed to an approach of developing strategies and ideas to facilitate innovative capacity which are based on ethnographic data.
2. Close proximity of four funded settings and of the Eastern City staff, which permit face-to- face communication, cross-setting comparisons, and opportunity to receive direct reactions from funded setting participants to developing ideas.
3. Close coordination with the national Inquiry Team.

A major organizational structure to bring about these goals, a bimonthly seminar, was created. The seminars were described this way.

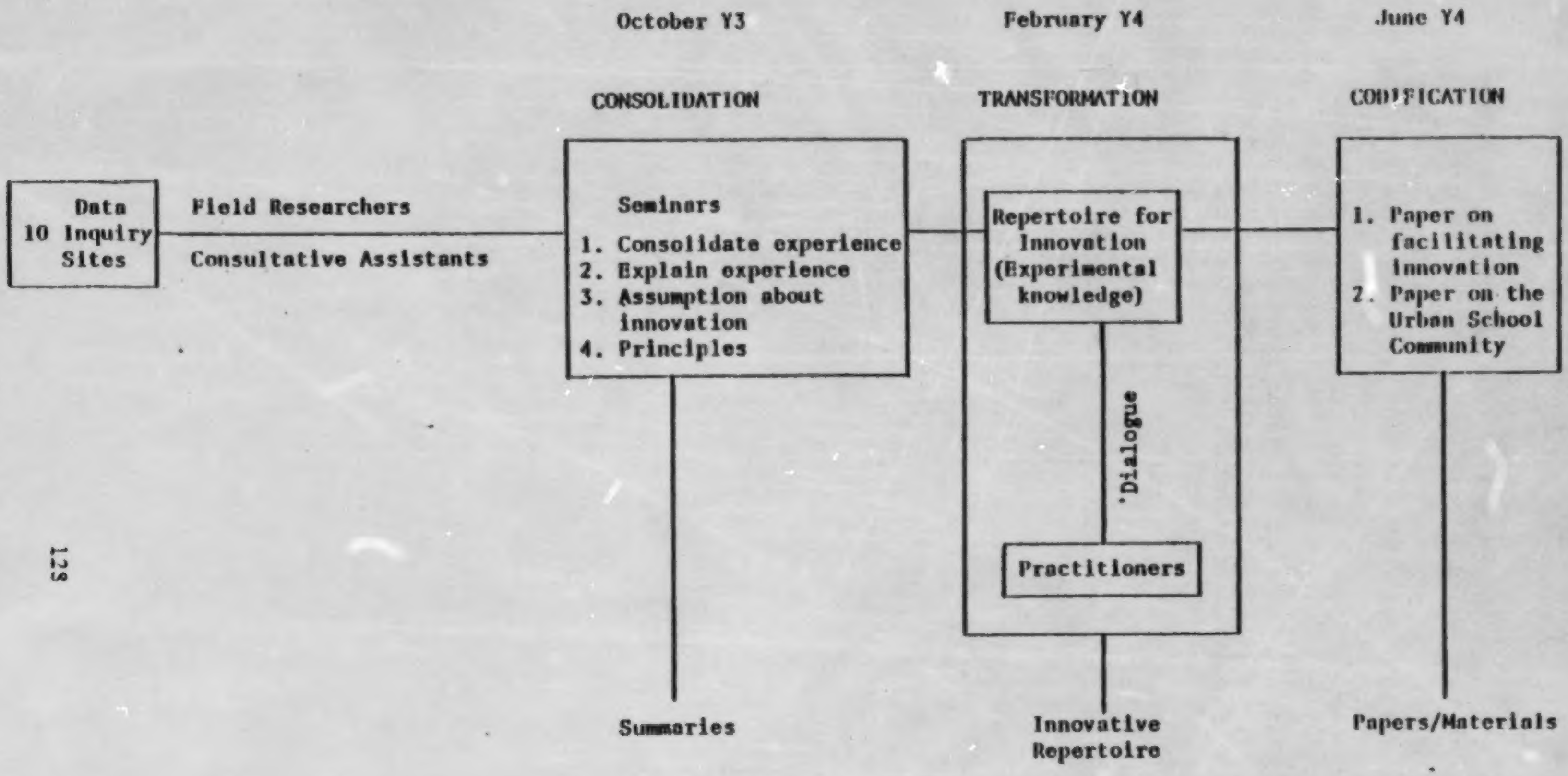
> If the experience from individual settings and across settings is to be used, there is a pressing need to articulate and share knowledge gathered by each site researchers in a structured way, i.e., focused on specified criteria, variables, issues, problems, dimensions, "foci," etc. It is necessary to retrieve, organize, and integrate inquiry produced knowledge and render it in usable forms. This need applies both to knowledge already available (both recorded and unrecorded) and to knowledge that remains to be generated. Recorded knowledge is that which is already in written form. Unrecorded knowledge is that which exists in the heads of Field Researchers, but has yet to be retrieved (analysis papers, updates).
>
> Through the seminar approach, a process of active exchange and discussion will be directed toward refining the Inquiry Team's propositions on innovation. In addition, seminars will seek propositions and ideas about the critical elements, activities, approaches, and models which facilitate innovative capacity in urban school settings. (PD, Y3)

The flow chart which guided their activities appears as Figure 5.4. Experts, consultants, and IAP personnel provided a variety of inputs--data, theory, and procedural help. In conjunction with the completion of case studies, drafting smaller papers and a 200-page monograph, "Toward a theory of the facilitation of innovation in urban schools," it was a busy year for the Eastern City Branch.

Insert Figure 5.4 about here

The Formative Evaluation Group

The Formative Evaluation Group essentially continued the thrust of its activities. Three foci were conceptualized as the core of its work.


October Y3
February Y4
June Y4
CONSOLIDATION
TRANSFORMATION
CODIFICATION
Data
10 Inquiry
Sites
Field Researchers
Consultative Assistants
Seminars
1. Consolidate experience
2. Explain experience
3. Assumption about innovation
4. Principles
Repertoire for
Innovation
(Experimental
knowledge)
'Dialogue
Practitioners
1. Paper on facilitating innovation
2. Paper on the Urban School Community
Summaries
Innovative
Repertoire
Papers/Materials

'Dialogue: further development of clarity and analysis of the repertoire for innovation through discussion with people in Eastern City school system

Figure 5.4 Eastern City Region Phase II Activities (PD, Y4)

1. IAP as a Knowledge Utilization System
   IAP is one of a number of knowledge utilization projects carried out in the last decade. Most of these projects have tried to develop and disseminate basic research materials stored in central data banks or clearing houses, using linking procedures which incorporate varying degrees of rapport and integration with user groups. These efforts have been referred to as "external" R & D projects. On the whole they have not been successful in either generating acceptance of educational research, or stimulating educational change. IAP represents a new approach to knowledge utilization insofar as it includes both research and practice in its overall design, and attempts to develop structures and processes through which researchers and practitioners collaborate around issues of mutual concern. The Formative Evaluation Group will focus on issues arising from attempts in IAP to link research with practice and will compare and contrast IAP with other Knowledge Utilization systems.

2. The Study of Context and Effects of Consultative Assistance in the Regions
   An important aspect of the overall assessment of effectiveness of IAP revolves around changes generated in School Communities by IAP Consultative Assistance Teams. The Formative Evaluation Group will look at the impact of regional CA efforts on client subsystems and related contexts within a school community. We will concentrate on organizational changes within and between subsystems and on changes in values and behaviors of key individuals involved in IAP efforts.

3. CA Process
   An important part of IAP as a knowledge utilization system is the consultative assistance effort in each of the regions. In studying IAP as a knowledge utilization system, the Formative Evaluation Group is especially interested in the various approaches to consultative assistance as they emerge in the regions, and the ways in which knowledge from the ten settings is drawn upon and utilized in planning and implementation of consultative assistance in network sites. While the major responsibility for describing and analyzing these processes lies with the regions, Formative Evaluation Groups will coordinate with the regions to both facilitate understanding of these processes and incorporate this understanding into an overall description.

The products of the Group were anticipated to be a series of papers--on methodology, on knowledge utilization, on CA worth. In addition, feedback on key aspects of IAP as a project and monthly newsletters were to be developed. Finally, data collecting activities leading to a detailed IAP history in Phase III were to be in palce. All in all it seems a large and worthy agenda.

The Articulation Conference

It is indeed amazing in retrospect that IAP continued to plan for the future amidst all its adversity. Perhaps, true belief, the remainder of the lifting "pink fog" prevented a clear view of the new future. But the IAP staff held an Articulation Conference to bring together all that had been learned in two and a half years and to form the groundwork for the project's next phase, Phase III.

An IAP memo distributed in preparation for the conference read:

> We have come to another transition in our work. We shift from mostly individual or team efforts in preparing drafts of Phase II papers, to articulating across the project what we have learned since January Y2. From this articulation period during September we will move directly into Phase III planning in October and November. (PD, Y4)

The Articulation Conference involved most of the IAP staff from across the country. A massive amount of effort went into its planning and into its implementation.

While our report is replete with comments from the various levels of personnel in IAP, the Articulation Conference provided opportunity for small groups to meet informally and thereby presented data from the "field hands." A small group of field workers and central staff jointly commented about a half dozen problems from their perspective. For brevity they are merely listed, with slight extensions, from project documents.

1) The old employee/employer problem and the wielding of power, "pulling rank" by the latter to the perceived detriment of the former at several levels in the hierarchy.
2) Substantive disagreement appeared over the use of the "culture" concept in the Central City Consultative Assistance effort. In the lower eschelon's perception the director wouldn't listen to people who knew more anthropology than she did. Consequently, the substantive position was weak and suffered from superficiality, internal inconsistency, and narrowness in not incorporating other minority positions, in the view of many of the IAP staff.
3) Anger occurred over the case studies: no one uses the studies, no help or supervision, no uniformity, mixed reviews from readers mostly from universities, multiple intended audiences.
4) No intellectual leadership exists in the project.
5) General frustration exists over the feeling of having something to contribute, an inability to make a contribution, no one to take ideas to, and the perception of unevenness of quality of work and embarrassed by it.
6) Concerns were expressed over uncertainty in the organization: no job guarantees, perceived as disloyal if one looks for a job, and some with offers from the ten settings in which they have been working. (PD, Y4)

The agenda of internal problems which arose in the first meetings, continued over the several years of the project's life, appeared once again in the informal discussions among the rank and file during IAP's final major conference.

Procedurally, the Articulation Conference continued several of IAP's major modes of operation. They tried to develop complex ideas in small group sessions. Some of the group leaders were masterful in leadership of group discussions and were able to generate lists and rough clusters of key ideas. Other small group leaders were more intrusive and seemed to get in the way and block the flow of ideas as they tried to focus and guide their groups.

Many of the ideas suffered from two interrelated flaws--lack of case depth and mixing of ideology, the "oughts" versus the "is's." Seldom were vignettes or portrayals developed with enough detail out of the ten settings to begin to see the latent interrelated structure of concepts, hypotheses and miniature theories relevant to the analysis of a theme. No commonly accepted conception of theory was available to guide the discussion and probing. Few references occurred to more classical analyses from educational and social science literature. Finally, the move from the "is's" of what was "out there" in the ten Inquiry and two Consultative Assistance settings to a more desirable state of affairs was stymied by what might be called ideological assumptions. The schools should be more collegial, participatory, humanistic, supportive, etc. As an example, one of the more exciting discussions began with a discussion of a project involving "staff cohesiveness" in one community, moved to a discussion of "staff development" in another and then into an account of an "enterprising principal" in a third district. Someone put a label of "hustler" on his behavior and this moved to "con artist" and finally to "entrepreneur." Along the way, "street sense," "assertive/ascendent/aggressive" and "survival skills" got mentioned. Some antecedents and consequences were raised but no careful hypothesizing nor building of miniature theories, nor interlocking into more general theories occur. Emotional reactions and conflict stirred because "hustler" is a "bad word" and inner city communities were now being stereotyped and damned once again. Leads didn't come and connections into more general ideas of "origins and pawns" (deCharms, 1978), "assertive training" (Perlman, 1974), "entrepreneur" or "advocate" (House, 1974), or "executive leadership" (Argyris, 1953) to name only a few examplars of positive ways to state a similar orientation. An important idea, so we would argue, died aborning. Many others did also.

In short, the conference came and passed with much the same reactions that other key conferences had received. A fairly typical summary comment follows:

> The articulation conference provided social support and hooked many new members of the system in, but did not provide a clear or crisp summary of Phase II learnings and implications. There is a good deal of raw material, but much of it is woolly and unformulated. The steps toward mapping out learnings were only halting and partial. Old IAP ideology about participation and group discussion (which is partly tied to the race issue) tends to recur from time to time; it both hampers intellectual work and leads to grandiose and vague discussions and ideas of what effective strategies for change in urban schools might look like (cf. the discussions about "participatory democracy" and collegial relationships at the articulation conference). The ideology at its worst interacts with staff inexperience so that ideas are both fuzzy and trite. (PD, Y4)

Immediately on the heels of the conference, the FEDs readied its final review process of IAP.

4.5 The End of the Story

In trying to write the end of the story, we found that endings are as fuzzy as beginnings. The major efforts of the project over the several years resulted in a huge quantity of papers, over three dozen. The best and most important of these went out to a group of reviewers--academicians and educational practitioners, specialists and generalists, nominees by IAP and by the FEDs, and so forth. The Federal Education Department exercised its judgment based on its perception of the project which, in turn, was based on direct observation and on the perceptions and judgment of a number of observers and reviewers.

External Perspectives[6]

A memorandum sent upward through FED channels contained as content, "Plan for review of the IAP contract." It read, in part:

> The IAP contract will finish Phase II on January 31, Y5. At that point, research at the ten organizational change projects we funded three years ago will be written up as case studies and thematic analyses, and several experiemnts with consultative assistance to help others draw on that research will have been done. In the months between now and January, FED and the contractor need to take a good look at the work done so far. The review will guide FED decisions about the work for the third and final phase of the contract, the two-year period from February Y5 through December Y6. FED notified the contractor in October Y3 that a major review done now would be the basis for deciding to what extent to continue the contract.
>
> Goals of the review process
>
> It seems to me we want to accomplish two main things. First, we need to reach a conclusion as to the quality of products ready after three years of work by the project's various teams. Second, we need to use those conclusions, along with lots of other information, to arrive at a concept of how best to carry out the last part of the project.
>
> So far as the process for reaching these goals, I am assuming a number of aims: (1) Involve staff in our group and elsewhere in FED; (2) offer the project several kinds of opportunities to present itself, in addition to the products alone, to those consultants who do not have much background about the work; and (3) offer at least interim reaction and guidance as soon as possible for the team before plans for the future go very far ahead. (PD, Y4)

The review process was planned and initiated. Almost two dozen written critiques resulted. Some typical excerpts follow.

Two reviewers found much promise in the IAP products they reviewed.

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[6] In Chapter 9 we have more to say about the nature of the review process. The published revision of one IAP document drew these comments: "Clear, simple--shall I say beautiful?--prose...," and "Full of brilliant ideas presented in an exciting manner." (PD, Y6)

1) First Reviewer:

> The self-avowed major purpose of this paper's authors, "to set forth the concepts, hypotheses, and beliefs that guide our actions as school consultants so that others will be able to make use of them," is both an important and ambitious one. I think the authors have made a valuable step in this direction. The paper presents a number of useful theoretical concepts for thinking about schools and their abilities to solve problems: systemic complexities of schools; loose-coupling; double-loop learning. It also contains many concrete insights about schools and the consultation process. The work reflects both an intimate and sophisticated familiarity with schools and an awareness of relevant streams of theory and research. I especially liked the concluding section, which synthesizes what a number of works tell us about how school consultants should work. (PD, Y4)

2) Second Reviewer:

> The ability to link the field study methdology and the understandings on context and process with the needs of schools trying similar activities provides a rich and supportive structure. Whether the process is called linking or articulating, a very vital part of its successful functioning is the face to face interacting over this knowledge. Knowledge based on field study can be a useful source of information, but when a team such as ARC or GPC is available to communicate and interact with as a supplement to the knowledge than that information becomes a vital and useful resource. Hopefully, the valuable work shared with me will never be reduced to "how to" booklets distributed to any school as a means to increase innovative ability. The market is full of such booklets already and a few more certainly would add nothing but dead weight. The linking function as presented in the materials I reviewed holds forth one of the most realistic promises for success that I have encountered in recent years. The marriage of research and field work has long been needed. (PD, Y4)

A third was encouraging but disappointed in a backhanded way:

> In conclusion, this is an occasionally interesting paper that appears to have been written by a perplexed, oftentimes frustrated and occasionally confused researcher who finds it difficult to keep one foot in the laboratory and the other in the classroom. The fact that he persists in trying to pull this off against long odds I view favorably rather than as a sign of empty rigidity. (PD, Y4)

Progressively, the remaining critiques grow more negative.

> 4) The announced aim of this project is to "...to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students." I found little in the documents I have read to persuade me that the purpose will be realized. (PD, Y4)

5) "An Examination of Two Consultative Assistance Styles Within One Project" is a 144-page document which I found added little or nothing to what I already knew about the process of "consultative assistance." I interpret the document to be little more than a simple chronology of events, with no attempt having been made to interpret those events for the reader. If the purpose of this document is to tell somebody something, then the analysis part of the work should be played up. (PD, Y4)

6) I have read the materials you sent to me from the IAP Project. In responding to them, I feel a bit like the blind man groping around an elephant, and since I thought that the documents I received might also have been written by a blind man groping around an elephant, the review might well look like it emerged from a multi-cephalous system (Level 8) where "...the coupling among individuals and among sub-system groups in schools is far looser than the coupling among the parts and sub-systems at lower levels." (PD, Y4)

Three reviews were most direct in their recommendations to terminate the project.

7) In summary, on paper this is a bold, novel, innovative project. In actuality, the products are almost universally disappointing. The case studies are not informative, the understandings are not there, and very little of use has been obtained either for use by the ten specific schools that were examined or for other people who are not directly connected with this research. It is my judgment that this project should be terminated as humanely and as promptly as possible. (PD, Y4)

8) My first response to the IAP project is that all activity should be concluded and finalized by February 15, Year 5. This includes all writing activity that is presently in progress and certainly all consultative assistance that is being generated in both Western City and Central City. (PD, Y4)

9) I have admired the IAP conceptualization from the outset and have viewed it as one of the more significant projects sponsored by FED. I was particularly interested in the project's focus on collecting rich data on schools experiencing the process of attempted innovation, and too in the project's concern with linking research to utilization. In sum, while I had modest expectations for the critical articulation component of the project, I had rather high expectations for what could be learned from the inquiry component. What I was expecting was rich observational data in a form that could stimulate insight in readers--apart from any analyses by the IAP staff--and substantial insight from the IAP staff about what was happening in individual sites and across sites. That IAP has apparently failed at this initial, less difficult data-gathering stage--at least so it seems from the available documents--is the greatest disappointment of this project. (PD, Y4)

The FED's Evaluation

FED developed a position regarding IAP's continuance and invited Roy Taylor, IAP's director to Washington. There Roy was briefed on what FED referred to as "curtailment." Another IAP staff person made what struck us as a gripping comment about Roy and that meeting's outcome.

> He was very crestfallen when he talked to Joe and found out that Joe was disappointed and wanted to cut the whole thing back. He was so crestfallen and so shook up that after he had first talked to Joe and got that sorry news, he wrote back to his colleagues in Central City and said that he had a very productive conference with Joe. He could not make himself say that it was very disappointing. (TI, Y5)

But the official news came as a Memorandum from FED. Briefly, a few excerpts summarize the contents of the lengthy communique.

> Because the present phase of the IAP contract ends January 31, Year 5, we are in a period of planning and transition, as you know. The five-year contract signed in December, Y1 called for the final two years to be designed after experience had accumulated with the tasks of the first three years. In my memorandum of October, Y4, I outlined procedures for taking a look at the products completed so far and some options for the final phase. This memo is to report to you the results of our review to date, so that you can move in the remaining month to prepare plans for the last project phase that are most in keeping with our view of the work. Because the recommendations of our readers, and the conclusions we draw from our own review and consideration, are likely to be quite different from your view by the way the work should proceed, this note will go to some length to present the process we have followed, the views we have heard, the conclusions we have come to, and the directions we are thinking of setting for the future.
>
> Review process so far
>
> As planned in the October memo, we have carried out the following steps:
>
> - Project monitor site visit to contractor
> - FED staff attends contractor planning conference
> - FED staff reads contractor documents; staff discussion
> - FED solicits names of field reviewers from contractor; selects
> - 12 readers from contractor and FED lists
> - Contractor documents assigned to field readers--three readings per major product (minimum), in most cases four readings
> - Seven field reviewers read contractor planning memos, dated December 2 and 6, Y4
> - Seven field reviewers meet with FED staff for discussion of reviews
> - Initial briefing of project director at FED on results of review

Abstract of findings and recommendations

Based on discussions with expert advisors and with other FED staff, we have reached some conclusions about the work submitted to FED in recent months, and the potential for the future. These points will be elaborated and somewhat qualified in the discussion which follows, but are set down here for clarity and convenience.

1. The project as a whole for a variety of reasons (not all within the contractor's responsibility) has made only modest progress in its simultaneous pursuit of multiple goals of detailed field study, articulation of that study to assistance for others, design of organizational interventions to test the utility of the field studies, and analysis of the usefulness of the interventions. Plans to continue work on all fronts therefore seem unwarranted (our Italics). The final phase will be most useful as a project of much reduced ambition, built carefully and deliberately upon the strengths that can be most clearly seen in the present staff and products.
2. Certain parts of the work of the Inquiry Team show promise, and could be a basis for some continuing activity. Further review of the quality of the field data and the ten individual case studies is needed before the work can be set forth with confidence.
3. The consultative assistance activities in Central City and Western City appear from the written descriptions to have shortcomings of both design and implementation when held to the particular goals of the IAP project. It is hard to see that the improvements and changes needed can be made in the one full school year remaining to the project. No further consultative assistance beyond current commitments is to be given at either site (our Italics).
4. The study of the project's own consultative assistance has not produced either a comprehensive history and description or a substantial analysis. No formative evaluation needs to be continued, since there will be no further consultative assistance (our Italics). However, several activities should be pursued to learn from the project's experience, including expanded use of consultants as major authors. (PD, Y4)

Summary

As the computer problems had complicated the whole inquiry process, so the broader problems of the inquiry process had inhibited the consultative assistance efforts or as these efforts had originally been construed. As mentioned many times earlier, the consultative assistance (CA) process was to evolve from the knowlege acquisitions of the inquiry phase of IAP. The time line mandated that the CA efforts begin before the inquiry process had really had an opportunity to formulate any meaningful products. In the final damning review of the work in both the West Coast and Central City CA sites, the conclusion was the CA implementations were based on strategies that existed before the inception of IAP and did not merit continued funding as no new knowledge was being accrued. A CA implementor was very direct in their view that strategies applied in other settings simply would never be applicable in their site because of the site's own idiosyncracies. Such an assumption struck at the very core of the IAP mandate regarding its final major interest, the nature of articulation, the linking of theory to practice.

5. THE POIGNANT CONCLUSION

Our story has come full circle. We are where we began in the introduction. The Inquiry and Assistance Project has been severely curtailed, its life expectancy reduced by two years. Phase III did not occur. The project was put on eight months of terminal funding. This permitted the finishing of a variety of papers and reports. It helped a number of individuals to find new jobs in a reasonably humane fashion. And finally, it gave GPC and ARC a little breathing room, as organizations, to begin soliciting new contracts and funds to facilitate their survival as soft money operations. The organizations now were as we described them in the introduction when we began our first rounds of data collecting. As we indicated, most participants were searching for ways to explain the failure of their collective dream. Some were simply exhausted, others were glad to be out of it. Some of the staff agreed wholeheartedly with the FED's decision. Writing to a friend and colleague, one participant notes:

> IAP, as I am sure you have heard, has been severely curtailed. That, in my opinion, shows good judgment by them. (PD, Y5)

But the resounding question is, "Why?" "What went wrong?" Many of those who had labored so hard and so long looked within themselves for reasons. Some of the self encroachment struck deeply indeed. We end the narrative with such a quote and with a determination to seek broader answers.

> I became deathly afraid that the project was going to go bad--and that was summer and fall of Y2! I complained to my colleagues here but I was afraid to confront IAP as a whole because I was afraid to be pointed at (by ARC, FED and GPC) as the one tearing apart the presumably beautiful edifice to which we had all committed our fortunes and our sacred honor, if not our lives. It would have been better for it to break apart then instead of later. But I was afraid. Good old group-think: loyalty is the highest virtue. Shame on me. (PD, Y5)

Section III

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Overview of Section III

Today, considerable controversy exists in reporting data and ideas in social science, educational evaluation, and field research. We have presented in Section II a story, a descriptive narrative, a portrayal, developed mostly in the lay language using records of formal meetings and recollections from interviews of participants. Some of our colleagues, e.g., Robert Stake of CIRCE, University of Illinois and Barry MacDonald of CARE, University of East Anglia, tend to argue that that suffices for most purposes. We are in sharp agreement that the particularities, situated meaning, or context bound understanding is both necessary and desirable in social science. And much of that story should be from the perspective of the actors in the setting. For us, Roshomon and The Alexandria Quartet have been important models.

But, and in addition, we have argued that we want to distance and detach ourselves, to a degree, to generate concepts, hypotheses, and theory in a way which captures the general in the particular (Smith, 1979). Leaving the world concrete, particular and tacit seems to us to deny a major aspect of science, the human condition, human possibilities, and the interdependence of these. In this regard we believe we are closer to such field workers as Becker, Blau, and Gouldner, and to such general theorists as George Homans. Consequently, in Section III we reach for an analysis and interpretation. We think we have learned some things about Federal Policy in Action which are true for this case and which would be useful for our several audiences thinking through similar problems and cases.

This analysis and interpretation falls within five broad but interrelated conceptions. In part, we have tried to maintain a concern for the time line of events. Hence, Chapter 6 speaks primarily to the organization or formulation of policy. Insofar as the Federal Education Department is a smaller unit within a larger government Bureau and the larger Bureau has been mandated by a Congressional law we find ourselves a part of an ongoing process which might have been entered earlier as Redman (1973) describes in The Dance of Legislation. Or, in contrast, we might have entered later as Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) did in Implementation. Our narrative indicated the early and continuing importance of the FEDs. Our analyses attempt to be true to that part of the project's history and story.

A second broad conception, ideology, helped order a mass of particular events. Chapter 7 captures, more analytically, the organized set of values, beliefs, and sentiments, what we and the project people have called by several labels, an egalitarian, participatory democracy, or alternative school mentality. The ideological component of IAP was powerfully attractive in bringing unusual and milti-talented individuals together and in serving as a powerful motivator to thought and action throughout the project. In additon, it posed what seemed to be almost unanswerable questions for the Project, and ultimately, we believe,

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for the larger society which IAP was both studying and helping. School reform which does not come to grips with ideology has not understood the phenomenon it is attempting to change.

The third conception we have called, the structure of activities. The Inquiry and Assistance Project tried to do a number of large tasks. They had a large qualitative field research or inquiry component. Ten innovations in urban schools were to be described, analyzed and studied. Two other school districts were to receive consultative assistance based on the learnings from the ten settings. Finally, a perspective on articulation, the linking of research to practice was to be developed. In toto, that was a large, mighty, and consumming agenda. At its most concrete level it asks, How are urban schools improving themselves? and Can others be helped to do the same? At a more abstract level the question becomes, What is the relationship among qualitative educational inquiry, educational data and theory, and educational practice? At an even more abstract level, IAP could be conceived to be an instance of social policy and social action or even that more abstract and difficult chestnug, the relation of thought and action.

The fourth conception we have brought to bear on the data and story is social conflict. The kinds of conflict, the scope of conflict and the intractibility of the conflict seemed a reflection or microcosm of other urban school settings in which we have worked. In part, conflict seems a condition which is given by the very nature of heterogeniety of interests, backgrounds, and social groupings within which all of us must live and work. One kind of conflict, the conflict over governance seemed part and parcel of the democratic egalitarian ideology. We found that kind of conflict to be particularly difficult to resolve and particularly potent for other aspects of organizational functioning.

The fifth large conception involves leadership, management, and administration within the Project. We puzzled through and tried to order three large set of events. The first arose because of the time in which we entered the Project, when IAP was on terminal funding and its leaders were looking to the future. Securing resources, in a soft money R & D organization is problematic. Secondly, we returned to IAP's external relationships, particularly with the FEDs. Thirdly, a series of issues in internal relations, the problems of coping, were an important focus.

None of the ideas is totally new. At a personal level we have learned some things which are important in our thinking about the issues of federal policy in action and in guiding our actions in our own administering, consulting, teaching, and research. As we have read formal statements which others have written in those broad conceptual domains we have been struck by the inadequacy of those statements in addressing the phenomena and problems we found. Consequently, we have summarized, analyzed, critiqued, and synthesized a number of these positions in terms of our data, our story, and our diverse miniature theories.

In sum, if we have a conceptual bias, it's toward a middle point on the simplicity/complexity criterion. Readers of an early draft of this report kept wanting simple single causes. We don't think such an interpretation fits IAP. Similarly we didn't want to remain with a forest full of particularistic trees at either the concrete descriptive level or at the miniature theory level. The middle group we found is that of the half-dozen major analytic themes or conceptions: federal policy formation, ideology, activity structure, social conflict and managerial coping. As our discussion will indicate, shifts in any one of these would have had important effects on every other aspect and ultimately on the overall functioning of the Project. "Fixing" any one may not have been enougn to have made a major difference in IAP's outcome. In addition, some are not easily "fixable." But they are the places where, in retrospect, we would turn our attention.

Chapter Six

Policy in Action:
Formal Definitions and Concrete Operations

1. POLICY: A DYNAMIC ENTITY

An apparently simple question begins this first analytic chapter. What is the policy being discussed in this report? If mission and a directed course of action can be used synonymously with policy, and we argue that they can, we find that the answer to the question is hotly debated by the participants in our story: the originators, the agents, the reviewers and the advisors. In the next section, we describe the general context in which the Federal Education Department operated. That section begins with a "Legal Mandate." Is this the policy? Or is the policy the way the Bureau of Education chose to interpret the mandate in its paper, "Educational Inquiry and Implementation" in which the Director of the Bureau wrote:

> In many respects, the success of the FED rests on our ability to stimulate the development of an Inquiry community that is genuinely useful to educators and students, to make research results available to educators, and, perhaps most important, to recognize the role of educators not as passive recipients of Inquiry products but rather as innovators for whom research is but one resource for a continuous process of renewal and reform. (PD, Y1)

This chapter describes elements within the Federal context that can be viewed as successive and cumulative factors that both shape and modify policy and that represents policy. The analysis proceeds to the point where specifically a set of organizational "givens" exist under which a new organization, the Inquiry and Assistance Project, must operate to "implement the policy." At that point, the context on which the policy is carried forth both changes and broadens. The remaining analytic chapters pick up the task of describing the factors in that broader context that continue to both implement the policy and redefine it. We argue, then, that the answer to our simple question is illusive. The policy has an origin in the Congressional, legal mandate that created the Bureau of Education. But that policy is only a part of the whole. We begin, then, at that broadest level and proceed through continuous stages of specification.

In brief, one of the principle findings of our study and it may be old hat to everyone but us, although we don't think so, is that policy is a dynamic changing phenomenon.[1] Policy, that directed course of action evolves and changes as different individuals, groups, and organizations become involved. Some times those involvements were sequenced in time, that is A's actions preceded B's. And, in turn, C's followed B's. And so on. Sometimes also the evolution involved groups arranged in an hierarchial order of power in the sense that A's statement controlled, B's interpretation and action, and so on. Finally, at times, the evolving also had a quality that might be called "progressive focusing." The changes moved from a broad, general, and abstract statement to a progressively more narrow, specific and concrete statement. This evolution always occurs in a specific context of time, place, individuals, and organizations. To miss this view of policy formation is to miss a central facet of IAP.

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[1] Dershimer argues from his ten-year tenure as executive officer of AERA that, "Most men and women who make up the community of educational researchers and developers...know precious little about how the government operates." (1976, p. ix)

2. SUBSTANTIVE ITEMS IN THE FED'S POLICY POSITION

Now we propose to cloak the more dynamic conception of policy in action in a reinterpretation and analysis of the substantive items from our data and our narrative. Some of these items pertain to the general context, others are more situationally specific to IAP, and still others to the continuing role of the FEDs through the life--and the demise--of IAP.

2.1 The General Context

The Legal Mandate

The Federal Education Department, much like the Office of Education or the National Institute of Education, has its origins in laws passed by Congress. For illustrative purposes, the NIE framework can be used to indicate the kind of context under which any federal education agency operates.

> While the Congress recognized that the direction of education remains primarily the responsibility of state and local governments, the Federal government has a clear responsibility to provide leadership in the conduct and support of scientific inquiry into the education process.
>
> NIE is charged by its enabling statute with the responsibility to improve American education through:
>
> - helping to solve or alleviate the problems and achieve the objectives of American education;
> - advancing the practice of education as an art, science, and profession;
> - strengthening the scientific and technological foundations of education; and
> - building an effective education research and development system.
>
> The NIE has carried out these mandates through contracts and grants to a wide variety of non-Federal groups and individuals, in support of education-related research and development

Sequentially, a law such as this specifies Congress' intent. Formal policy committees, authorized by the law further specify the intent into concrete program or priority areas. Then sub-units in the Department develop more specific program plans. Ultimately RFPs, Requests for Proposals, are drafted by committees or individuals. As we will indicate that process has its own interesting dynamic in the instance of IAP.

Always, in Federal programs, Congress, the Executive Branch and the broader political process, lurks in the background. Dissatisfactions with an Office of Education can lead to the creation of a National Institute of Education. And, currently, a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare may shortly become a Department of Health and Welfare and a Department of Education. Those stories and their interpretations have been told in detail elsewhere. (Sproull et al, 1978; Tiedt, 1966; and Dershimer, 1976.)

Flux at the FED

These days, most citizens seem to feel that the government bureaus are with us as stably as death and taxes. That may be true of some aspects of the government but not in the Federal Education Department. Flux, rather than stability is the more appropriate label. From an insider's point of view when administrators change, be they secretaries, deputies, directors, and so forth a number of events follow. One member of the FEDs talked this way.

> The new director appointed some task forces to study the situation, and I worked on the road for two months. Then there was the question of what was he going to do with the task force reports, and who was he going to talk to while making such decisions. Didn't really trust the insiders so he talked to outside people, which increases the paranoia internally. Then he was going to fire some of the line managers. Some knew early on that they were going, which of course is no incentive for good work.
>
> And then they got plunged into the President's budget, which is really brought up with the state of the union message. So in the fall there's a flurry of final adjustments to the budget and the Office of Management and Budget which prepares the budget for the President told us that they didn't think we were worth more than X million dollars, which was less than we had in the previous year.
>
> So the new director was trying to reorganize structurally, was trying to find some substance that he cared about, was trying to find new line managers and had to do a budget exercise under the most incredible time pressure without any alliances around town to draw on, not an old Washington hand.
>
> OBS: With internal paranoia:
>
> FED: And every time he talks to a trustworthy confidant which is above all else what he needed in that swirling set of forces, somebody new would accuse him of talking to some crummy and not to the good staff. What a situation! So it's been a long time that people have been wondering what the leadership cares about and personally what my work has been like.
>
> The reorganization is considered first as a structural activity, making new boxes out of old, but practically speaking it means taking individual projects and individual people and assigning them somewhere within a hierarchy. And, for all sorts of reasons, they have not yet discussed with any staff people in any detail where they are going to be and what they are going to do. So you may be ripped apart from your projects. You're wanted over here, but the logic of reorganization says that your projects go over there. You may be up here and you may be about to be demoted to down there. Since some of the line managers were fired all the on-going stream of decision-making is very confusing. Who gets to decide when you know that that person is discredited. What's the incentive for that person to chase

> decisions to be part of them, or what's the incentive for me to take a decision. And tons of stuff piled up on the desk of the director because that's the only responsible official, which of course clogs their calendar and makes us upset that they aren't dealing with the more general issues that have got to get unclogged, like assigning people and setting up the structure. They couldn't discuss even the structure until they'd gone to the Secretary. They sent out a copy of the reorganization plan one week before it went to the subcommittee, so even that became a kind of a difficulty. There were people who don't have good information....
>
> And so there are all kinds of people I never heard of before come beating a path to my door and saying, "What's going on?" God damn if I know. The boss is so squeaky clean he's especially careful not to talk to us about all the stuff that he knows, so that he doesn't get accused of favorite treatment. So I was as much in the dark as my neighbor in that....
>
> OBS: They don't believe it.
>
> FED: ...coming around and, "Aw, come on, " then you get tarred with the same brush as him, and all of you are damn, arrogant s.o.b.'s who won't talk to anybody. (TI, Y5)

Such a situation of turmoil--being on the road, who's talking to whom, who's running scared, and who's curious about what seems a long way from the more pristine homilies of the Congressional mandate for improving the education of the children of America. They seem to be the organizational realities for turning broad general goals into more specific actions.

Our colleague in the FEDs spoke of "clogs his calendar." We have extended that image a bit. Our analysis of the "clogging of the bureaucratic machinery" appears in Figure 6.1. We think we have isolated an important set of conditions for what Gross (1976)[2] was calling the ineptness of the federal officials. The interpretation suggests less villiany, at least at this point in time, than seems implied in his analysis. Rather we seem to be on the governmental responsiveness to citizen concerns, election of new officials, and the everpresent dilemma of stability and change. All this is what we mean by flux at the FED.

Insert Figure 6.1 about here

The Flow of Work: Amounts, Pressures, Irregularities

Scattered throughout the narrative are statements reflecting the huge work load in the Federal Education Department. The item that typified that for us in IAP was the "simple" task of developing the ten settings which were to be

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[2] We will turn to the literature in considerable detail in Chapter 11 where we try for a synthesis of our point of view of Federal Policy in Action.

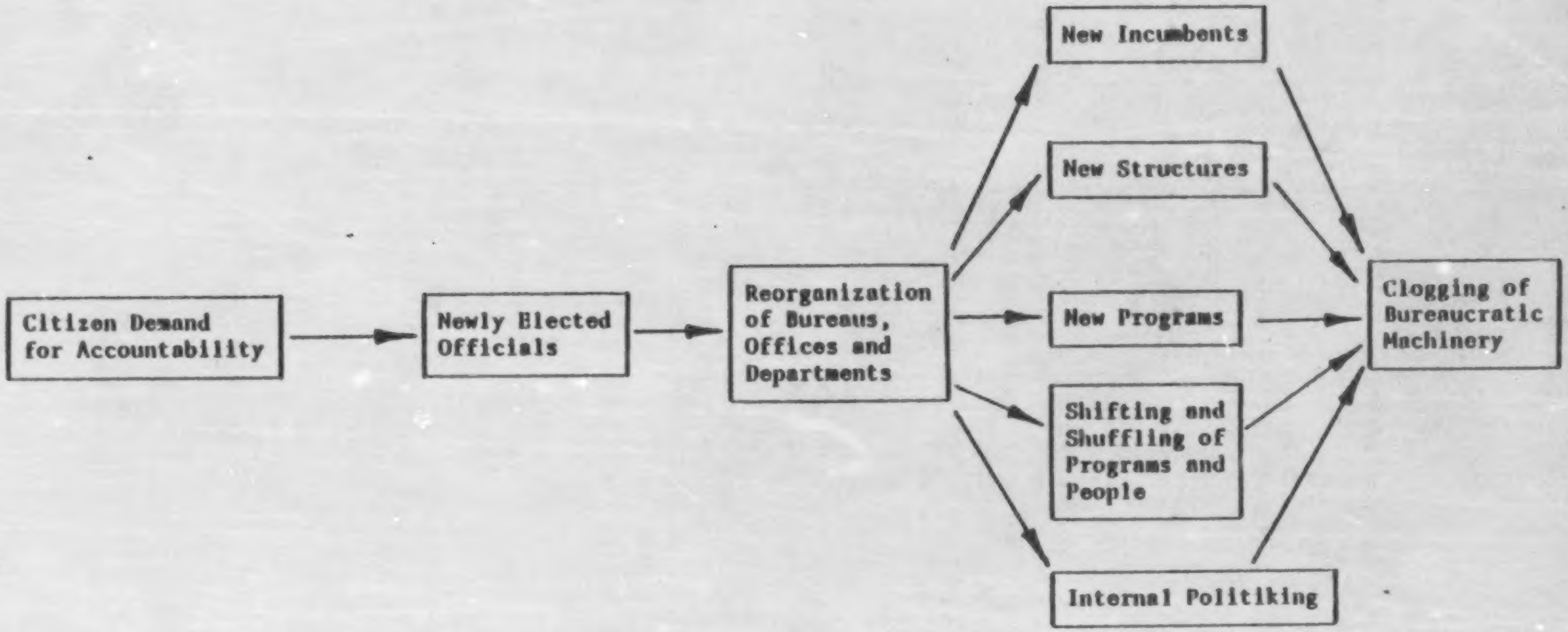
Citizen Demand for Accountability
Newly Elected Officials
Reorganization of Bureaus, Offices and Departments
New Incumbents
New Structures
New Programs
Shifting and Shuffling of Programs and People
Internal Politiking
Clogging of Bureaucratic Machinery

Figure 6.1 Clogging of the Bureaucratic Machinery

those studied in the inquiry part of IAP. That demanded an RFP of its own, which produced over 100 proposals. Multiple inhouse reviewers read and rated these and cut the pool to a dozen and a half. A group of outside reviewers was picked, a major task in itself. These reviewers submitted ratings and the final ten projects were selected. Ultimately, directors from all these projects came to Washington to participate in the round robin interviews with the finalists in the IAP competition. All this was carried out in the space of a few months, it represented an incredible amount of work under considerable time pressure.

The flow of work is not only great and under heavy time pressure, it also has an unevenness in demand. In this context we heard about the "RFP season."

> So, in what's called RFP season, in the old fiscal year of May, June or so, when the federal agencies have their money and have their game together and put out their shoestring on the street to award contracts. There's a flurry of phone calls that goes on around the country, as people try and put together the teams to bid on the contracts. (TI, Y5)

This accents the pressures at various points during the year and creates its own kind of stress.

The FED and its Colleagues

> There's not a big incentive for people in other offices of the Department to be nasty to their colleagues in different offices.... Well, you know, live and let live....

Related to the flux at the FED and to the heavy and irregular work load, is the broader governmental structure of which FED is a part. The above quote refers to a set of bureau procedures in which different departments review and help each other with RFPs, documents, and program initiatives. It captures a phenomenon which is not atypical of other organizations--university departments, businesses, and schools.

The FED Incumbents: Idealistic and Autonomous

Incumbents in organizational positions often impact on organizational structures, processes and policies in unexpected ways. This was also true at the Federal Education Department. They were bright, articulate, idealistic, young, and inexperienced. The narrative essentially makes the case for these selected adjectives. We might pinpoint the idealism inthe words of one.

> And being bushy-tailed and bright-eyed, we wanted to stay away from that greasy network of money grubbers, right? We were better than that. (TI, Y5)

They were trying to escape from one set of stereotypes which captures many Washington office holders. Partly, they felt free to do this. At the lower levels in the federal bureaucracy and within defined domains and with smaller sized projects ($1 million per year in a federal budget that runs hundreds of billions per year), a kind of perceived autonomy exists fqr the officials connected with a project such as IAP.

> I can't think of a single point in my work on IAP when I've ever had to think about any consideration outside of ones that I wanted to think about, in the sense...IAP doesn't believe that, they've always had rhetoric about, "Well, you guys wanted this project to succeed terribly much because you were under the gun in the Department." People find it hard to believe that a Department under great political pressure continuously doesn't translate that into actions on particular projects, but it's really not true. I have always gone to bat for IAP or reviewed IAP on whatever terms I thought best for the project, never in terms of any political dimension. Never anybody coming down saying, "You've got to fund that because," or saying, "You've got to kill that because," and that's, even though it's one of the largest contracts, discretionary contracts, that we have. You know, it's an enormous piece of money. But it has never been looked at by anybody in any light other than the one we wanted to present it in. (TI, Y5)

That kind of idealism and autonomy, if it be that more generally, seems an important element in a theory of policy formation.

The Liability of Newness

Some years ago when we were studying the Kensington School (Smith and Keith, 1972) we became impressed with the problems associated with not having a social structure, that is, organizational newness and a lack of standard operating procedures. Later we were to find that Stinchcomb (1965) had presented a brief but penetrating analysis of the same phenomenon which he labeled "the liability of newness." We think that this is one of those simple and obvious, but neglected, or underestimated or forgotten, and extremely potent set of variables in organizational functioning. The FEDs, and as we will raise later, all of IAP, seemed caught on the phenomenon. New roles must be learned, adjustment of these new roles to each other in the patterning of a social structure, the problems of social relations among people who are new to one another, the need to develop relationships with the environment, both as inputs and outputs are critical for the effective work of the organization. A number of these ideas were captured in a set of summary observation notes after a long several days in Washington, D.C.

> Another notion that seems to me is so critical in how all the business went is that this was Joe's first major effort. As one individual said the project was so large and so complicated that it involved the whole FED program in one sense in terms of the ideas and the hopes and the expectations. It seems to me that, in a sense, if one is to fault things it might well be that he was too new to the job, too inexperienced, to be able to grapple and cope with something that large as his first major effort. In that sense we're caught a little bit with some of the same kinds of things that IAP itself was caught with. In the sense that Joe and Roy would be parallel here and the ARC and the FED group would also be too new and inexperienced to handle anything quite

> of that magnitude. There are all kinds of funny complications in an argument like this: the incumbents have always got to learn their jobs and that's got to take some time and have some hazards in it. They can bring a certain amount of skill and knowledge and point of view from elsewhere but they're still new to the position and new to the task. In addition, one of the major complications here is that the organization that's trying to do the task doesn't have a history and doesn't have any major structure that provides a context for the incumbents to make things happen. In a sense, incumbents are really building the structure at the same time that they're building the particular personal skills to make it happen. Again, the parallel to ARC and IAP are quite real and quite clear, I think. It seems that one could well argue that FED as an organization with its particular sets of incumbents was in the same position. While all that at one level is very simple, it seems to me, it is a very powerful and perhaps the most powerful explanatory piece that has come up so far.
>
> The thoughts seem to arise in the stewing about our own clumsiness, or at least my own clumsiness, in handling some of the issues and some of the events of the interviews. ...I think of Fred Strodtbeck's comment about research studies and how they should build on one another. He had some guideline that 75% of the measures ought to be from old projects where you knew what they could do and how they worked and how to handle them and that some quarter to a third of the things that you did should be new and partially on trial. In that sense you were always covered with knowing that you could handle the situation and at the same time you kept growing and expanding your repertory of skills, but not so far out of the line, where there was too much stuff that was new, where you then entered into a very high risk situation and one that you could in effect lose your shirt. You wouldn't know what in the hell you were getting and how you were getting it. In that way, you might have possibly a brilliant breakthrough, although I don't think I've ever heard him argue that way, and at the same time you were more likely to come up with more garbage than you could handle.
>
> All of that it seems to me can be elaborated into an individual and what he's doing, and organizational structure and what it's doing, and then also just the collection of people independently of the organizational structure. If they're all new, or if you don't know them and you don't know quite how they're all going to fit together, you're in the same predicament. Whereas, if you've got 65% or 75% of your organization in place and you're adding that quarter to a third new people again, you cut the risk. (FN,Y5)

The Federal Education Department was only recently established, the staff had only recently come together, the IAP contract was its first large initiative. In sum, it was just learning what it was as an organization and what it was trying to do.

In short, we saw the context at FED as (1) influenced by the law which created them; (2) unsure because of constant political flux; (3) harried because of the amount of work and time constraints; (4) collegial to the point that needed criticism was rarely available; (5) supporting staff both idealistic and autonomous; and (6) flavored by an overwhelming air of newness.

Other points arose that existed both within that context and were part of it. These are all a major aspect of federal policy in action. They suggest an organizational world quite different from both the totally rational agent and the Weberian ideal type.

2.2 Items Specific to IAP

In some regards, the contextual items would be involved in any of the FED's activities; other were more specific to IAP. We perceive four major items in this part of the interpretation of policy in action: the role of creativity in developing a Request for Proposals (RFP); the partially developed and evolving conception; the open-ended and collaborative strategy; and the alternative of grandeur. Implicitly, these items, whether in a federal policy initiative, a university department agenda or an individual career, in our view, demand qualities of excellence, experience and imagination rare and to be prized in professional education. We take them up in turn.

Writing the RFP: A Creative Act

Earlier we made the point that the group assembled in the Federal Education Department were young, idealistic and perceived themselves as autonomous of momentary political pressures. As they talked about the development of their program and especially of the RFP within the program we were struck by the parallels to the many accounts of creativity (Beittel, 1973; Hausman, 1933; and Wallas, 1921).

> So we first wrote a little statement of what we wanted in the request for qualifications, kind of global, and that gave us a start. You play that back to yourself and you say, "Hmm, o.k., that sounds good." Then you start writing an RFP, where you have to specify the tasks in more detail, and you learn more about what you want as you write that. (TI, Y5)

In a sense, successive approximation and the project taking on a life of its own seem important creative aspects.

In the narrative of IAP we quoted one of the FEDs:

> ...we wanted people who had some tradition of experience in relating empathetically to urban schools...in giving help to urban schools. These are not things you can become good at by hiring a collection of people... (TI,Y5)

Somewhere, along the way, this thought got lost. The scope of IAP was enlarged and a collection of people were hired and distributed across the country.

As in many creative activities, last minute ideas are entered, often without critical reflection. As stated by one of the authors:

> So we sort of stuck in case studies. (TI,Y5)

The case studies were later to become a major focus of work and a major albatross for field researchers, supervisors and the very managers themselves of IAP.

But that's just a side issue here. The critical point is the net of implications for federal policy. Insofar as the Department contains creative professionals, the "policy" grows, develops, and becomes elaborated in a number of interesting ways. And sometimes items enter, almost inadvertently, which have tremendous later consequences.

The Partially Developed Conception

Within the Federal Education Department different views existed concerning underlying conceptions of the logic of IAP. The issues were a part of the continuing discussion and debate within the FED. One individual spoke at length about his own evolving position which crisscrosses with others in FED, with several of the points of view in the literature, and with our own position.[3]

> FED: There's something I would like to talk about and it's not on your agenda right now.
>
> OBS: Sure.
>
> FED: I think it's a major problem with the whole project. I think there was no sense of the nature of transfer process from the original ten settings to some other set of schools. There was no sophisticated concept of that and by that I mean Rachel and Joe, when they are pressed on this issue, tell me, "Well, what we thought was that if you had a group of schools which had some history of trying to improve their problem-solving process that some other schools couldn't help but profit from that." Somehow that first set of experiences had to be relevant in some way to some other schools. I don't think I've ever got across to them that I think that obscures a great deal. I don't think that's an answer at all. I think it hides a great deal.
>
> The question is in my mind that there's a continuum of possible models of transfer you might have in your head. We knew what we didn't want was to have a clear sharp description of a set of problem-solving strategies which would then be taken literally as models and transported elsewhere. Nor did we want to take some models and adapt them elsewhere. Those are the things that they said were models of transfer that were rejected. Another possibility was well if you don't want models taken in chunks and put someplace maybe you'll want kind of links and kinks of a lot of little techniques and insights. A loose collection of those. Well, probably not. So you wanted something called lessons which is the next step. Well, it seems to me lessons would be of two sorts. You can have case histories which simply told the story and then you could work with people and new sites, add new schools to draw out whatever inferences you can draw together from those cases. Maybe that's what's meant by lessons. Although I

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[3] One reason for quoting this at length is to indicate the collegial aspect of the research. While we have worried along the transfer of training issue for a number of years, the quoted statement is close to the line of argument we present in Chapter 9.

> don't think anybody has ever come down very hard on that one because Joe de-emphasizes the importance of these case histories. Suppose then that you wanted to develop some theory. ...a propositional sort of theory if X then Y, that is, if these things were present then that happens.... Well, you can develop some hypothesis on those grounds but obviously you couldn't test those hypotheses, with this kind of sample. But you know that might have been interesting if you had a set of theoretical propositions of some sort, then you could play off against a set of new sites. Or you could stop short of intervention and simply try to understand the organizational dynamics without intervention. There's a range there that is very roughly laid out and I'm sure that a lot of people have thought of more sophisticated ways than I have about nature of transfer from one place to another and modes of transfer. I certainly didn't have it then and I don't think Joe had it either. (TI, Y5)

This retrospective conversation of retrospective thoughts on the nature of social science knowledge and its transfer from one setting to another raised several major ideas. First, the continuum suggested by the FED officer we have abstracted in Figure 6.2. Second, we think these are important ideas in their own right. Third, the formalization of the knowledge and experience of the FEDs had only begun to be tapped by us. Fourth, the FEDs seem, for reasons of service demands and limited time and energy, to be unable to easily develop their own monographs. Fifth, they seem not to have been seen as data sources by IAP personnel per se. And, finally, we will have more to say on the general topic in Chapter 8 as we talk about the IAP goal of articulation, the taking of information from one setting and using it in another. But, once again, our point here, is that even in well developed RFPs and the IAP RFP was highly sophisticated, the developers are into provocative, unsettled, theoretical issues in social science theory and practice. Perhaps we have done the idea an injustice by labeling it "the partially developed conception." Our intent is to note that the FEDs were on to a critical problem, that it underlay the whole IAP effort, and that it makes policy formation into a more problematic effort. In our view it becomes an effort which demanded quite creative actions throughout the enterprise.

Insert Figure 6.2 about here

The FED's Open-Ended Collaborative Strategy

Another broad overarching perspective regarding IAP in the Federal Education Department was, in our words, "the open-ended collaborative strategy." It ranged from the good conversation among personnel in FED to the IAP contractor to the very audience with whom the contractor would work, in the sense of "communicating" his findings. That is,

> ...we'd ask the contractor to build into their own organization the concern for utilization which was left to the workings of the intellectual market place in the usual research support scheme... (TI, Y5)

1. Whole models transferred intact
2. Whole models adapted
3. Chunks and collection of techniques and insights
4. Lessons
5. Propositional theory--hypotheses

Figure 6.2 A FED Official's View of a Continuum of Knowledge Transfer

or

> ...[We wanted to] lay on the contractor the beauty of going to work with some audience... [emphasis ours.] (TI, Y5)

The kind of community anticipated amongst the FEDs, ARC and GPC within IAP, and selected public schools carries overtones of collegiality and participatory sharing which we discuss in more detail in the chapter on ideology, its nature and its antecedents and consequences.

Tuned to this also was the very nature of the end products of the contract. In the parlance of the FEDs, final products are "receivables." Early on, our interviewees told us the goals of IAP were specified more metaphorically than concretely:

> But the metaphor which was more attractive to me...the goal was a good conversation. (TI, Y5)

and

> ...we also believed that just watching something complicated can be useful. (TI, Y5)

In our discussions with the FEDs we thought a major inconsistency appeared. We were told about the contract versus grant distinction. The former is a more precise and specified approach to the work to be done. The latter is a more open-ended way of doing business, that is "...agree to carry out some general purposes as they saw best...." Yet the very statement of the products, the deliverables, "the good conversation" seemed so very open-ended, more like a grant way of doing research activity.

The open-ended collaborative strategy seemed to convey a number of messages. It reaccented the continuing thread of creativity, of autonomy, and egalitarianism among multiple involved actors, including the FEDs. From our interpretive position, it stressed, in one more way, the dynamic conception of Federal Policy in Action.

The Alternative of Grandeur Revisited

We have argued that the RFP for IAP and the resulting proposal was a plan for a large, complex and intricately synchronized piece of work. In an earlier account (Smith and Keith, 1972) we spoke of that strategy as the alternative of grandeur. As we began the analysis of IAP, it seemed as though we might be encountering another instance of such thinking. Nowhere is that caught better than in the RFP itself. Figure 6.3 indicates the salient dimensions, the antecedents and the consequences of the RFP. From our more detached, after the fact perspective this parallels aspects of Kensington's formal doctrine and its change strategy which we called then the Alternative of Grandeur. The attempt for a broad, pervasive change as opposed to a more limited, gradualist change represented a major decision on a central dilemma in any innovative effort. In the Kensington analysis we developed a model organized into clusters of intended and unintended consequences. The template might well have been derived from the FED data. Figure 6.4 is from the earlier analysis.

Now, as well as then, an important contrast exists with what Etzioni (1966) has called the gradualist strategy of change. Smith and Keith's abstraction and patterning of that point of view is presented as Figure 6.5. The antecedents provide an interesting commentary on the situation at the FEDs. Lack of congruency of goals between the FEDs and members of ARC and GPC is apparent. The instability of the FED's political structure, the limited power possessed by the FEDs (at least as perceived by themselves), and the time available are all in directions away from the gradualist option. The FEDs seem partially caught in problems not of their own making.

Insert Figures 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5 about here

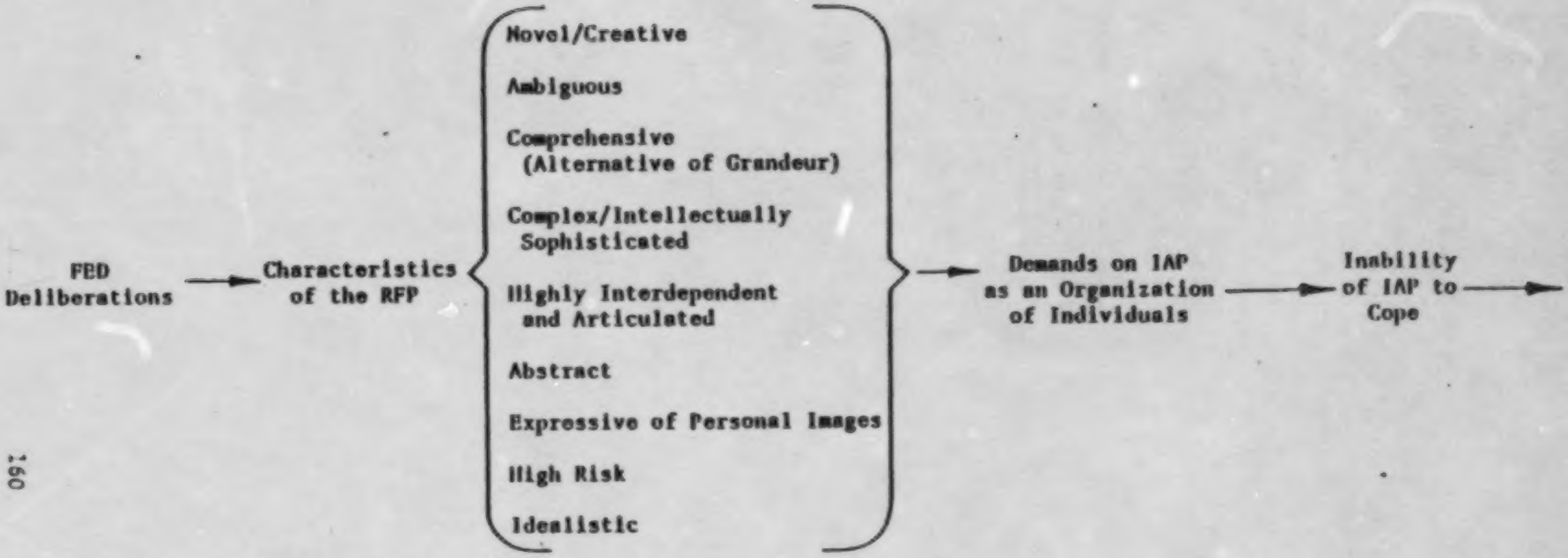
FED Deliberations
Characteristics of the RFP
Novel/Creative
Ambiguous
Comprehensive (Alternative of Grandeur)
Complex/Intellectually Sophisticated
Highly Interdependent and Articulated
Abstract
Expressive of Personal Images
High Risk
Idealistic
Demands on IAP as an Organization of Individuals
Inability of IAP to Cope

Figure 6.3 The RFP as Product: Salient Dimensions, Antecedents and Consequents

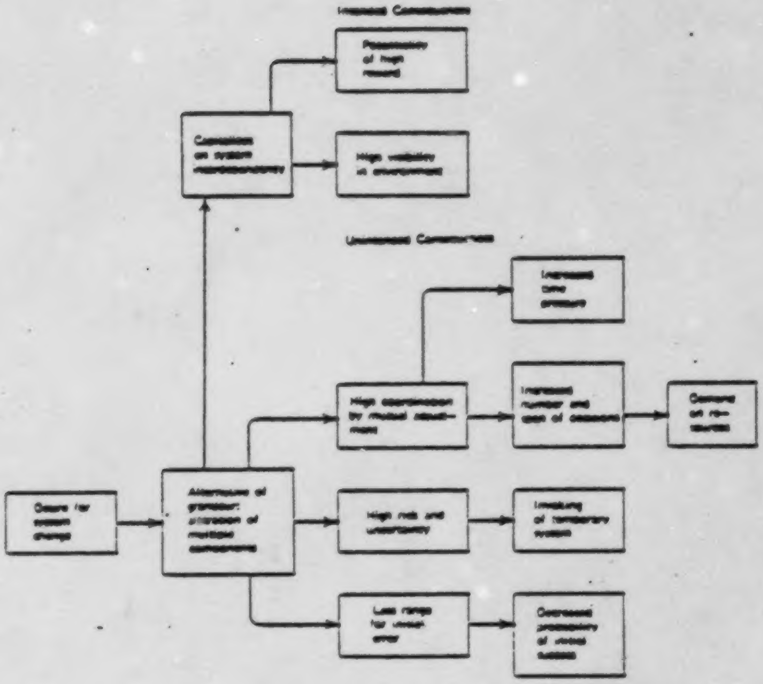
Intended Consequences
Possibility of high reward
High visibility in environment
Unintended Consequences
Increased time pressure
Increased number and span of decisions
Desire for system change
Alternative of grandeur: alteration of multiple components
High risk and uncertainty

Figure 6.4 The implications of the Alternative of Grandeur as an Innovation Strategy (from Smith and Keith, 1972, p. 369)

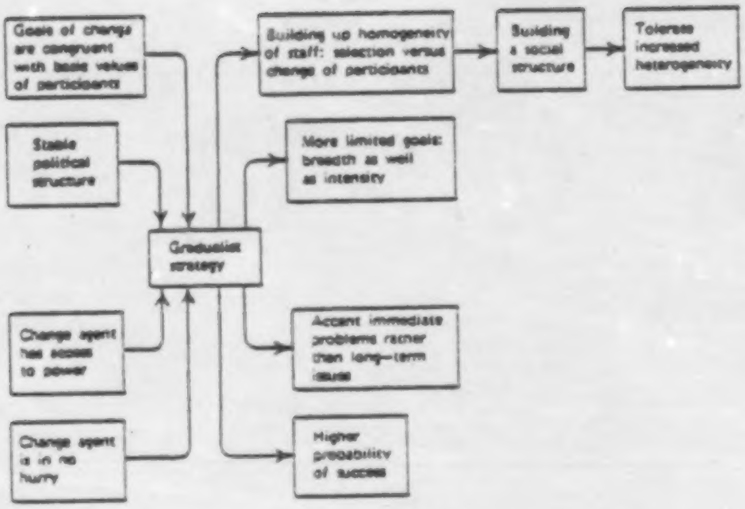
Goals of change are congruent with basic values of participants
Stable political structure
Change agent has access to power
Change agent is in no hurry
Gradualist strategy
Building up homogeneity of staff: selection versus change of participants
Building a social structure
Tolerate increased heterogeneity
More limited goals: breadth as well as intensity
Accent immediate problems rather than long-term issues
Higher probability of success

Figure 6.5 The Determinants and Limits of the Gradualist Strategy (after Etzioni, 1966, pp. 64-78; from Smith and Keith, 1972, p. 372)

3. ORGANIZATIONAL GIVENS: THE OUTCOMES OF INITIAL POLICY FORMATION

3.1 The Perspective

One of the obvious, common sense interpretations of much of what we have had to say about policy formulation is that it results in a set of "givens": organizational or social structural items no longer problematic, no longer easily open for reconsideration, no longer readily changeable. Beyond the perception of these, often there are evaluative overtones, that is, at times one can look at an initial set of "givens" in a social situation and make an immediate, almost perceptual judgment, that the affair, the game, the battle, the project is over, is lost before it begins.[4] The circumstances, the arrangements, or the givens, that is, the initial social structure has an improbable chance of reaching its goals. To do that at this point with IAP is second guessing and hindsight. For the next project that we, the participants in FED and IAP, or the reader undertake, several major elements stand out as items of large magnitude. In IAP they were often perceived, discussed considerably in some instances, but underestimated in terms of the ability of the organization to cope with them. They include:

1) the merger of two autonomous organizations, ARC and GPC;
2) the geographical spread or dispersal of IAP;
3) the rapid growth of IAP;
4) the large size of IAP relative to either of the original organizations;
5) the original ten settings to be studied;
6) incumbents in positions;
7) the formal legal contract; and
8) the general lack of knowledge in education about how to do large scale educational fieldwork.

By givens, we mean that once the original contract was set, these items provided a framework for all later decisions and for the accumulating social structure. That is, they were "given." One of our major theoretical points is our "time line/process/historical" perspective which indicates that these items were problematic at an earlier time, for instance, during the contract negotiations. Or, if not then, when the FEDs were preparing the RFP; and if not then, when the even earlier position papers were being written and codified.

---

[4] In our experience, one of the first instances of this occurred in hearing a colleague discuss a research project he was starting. The immediate reaction was an, "I wouldn't touch it with a 10-foot pole." Upon analysis, there were a set of givens, conditions which made attainment of the results almost impossible. Only recently have we tried to explore the dynamics of such perceptions (Smith, 1978).

But now that the organization "is up and running," they are not problematic but are part of the context in which the project resides and which must be taken into account as other issues become problematic and new decisions must be made.

Another set of "givens" reflect not so much the formal contract but variables which, at least initially, are more personal to the individuals in the organization. In particular the sentiments, the beliefs, attitudes, values and commitments of the initial individuals which when expressed become a part of the organization and eventuated in ideology and group norms. Perhaps most critically, they are corrallaries of personnel decisions. When one hires a field researcher or an individual to do consultative assistance, one usually has an array of competencies in mind. Approximating these is often difficult, and so it was for IAP. In addition, the new personnel bring along beliefs, attitudes, values which are often difficult to assess and which find kindred spirits, and which begin to shape the informal or internal system of the organization. This set of variables loomed large in IAP, possessed an intangible ephemeral quality, yet proved exceedingly difficult for everyone. This discussion we hold for special focus in Chapters Six and Eight, the chapters on ideology and organizational conflict. We discuss consequences of (1) geographical distance, (2) rapid growth, and (3) the diverse nature of large scale ethnographic research here. The remaining "givens" appear in subsequent chapters.

3.2 Geographical Distance

In nearly every interview, the members of the Inquiry and Assistance Project commented on the problems caused by the wide geographical dispersion of the project. "Never again" was a refrain we kept hearing. The "10 settings" spanned the country, as did the three main offices, GPC, ARC, and the Eastern City Branch. One of the major consultative assistance settings was hundreds of miles away from the support office.

Part of our limited but growing insight on the problem of knowledge utilization, lessons from the past, and the argument about "the responsible agent" in other chapters rests on our own inability to bring past experience to bear on the present problem until now, long after it would be of any help. In the course of a prior study, Smith and Pohland (1974) raised a model of the dispersal decision in a computer assisted instruction program. We reproduce here a brief account of their points.

> The descriptive material presented earlier on the "dispersal decision" might be conceptualized in accordance with Figure 1.1. The key concept becomes the ratio of program magnitude to available resources. The primary antecedent is the localist and political content of group norms. The major consequences are political, technological, and programmatic.
>
> Beyond being a summary statement, pictorial models such as Figure 1.1 have considerable heuristic value. Essentially, Figure 1.1 is a miniature theory, a chain-like series of propositions regarding educational innovation. Each one-step postulate and two-step theorem is an hypothesis susceptible to proof in other settings. For example, following only one major strand of the model, we can develop the following nine hypotheses:
>
> 1. The more localist and political norm content, the greater the probability of dispersing scarce resources widely.

2. If scarce resources are widely dispersed, maintenance problems increase.
3. If maintenance problems increase, longer and more frequent periods of interrupted service occur.
4, 5, 6. As interrupted service increases, utilization decreases (4), teacher frustration increases (5), and pupil frustration increases (6).
7, 8, 9. As utilization decreases and teacher and pupil frustration increase, pupil achievement is minimized (7, 8, 9).

In retrospect, all of this appears very obvious, logical, and perhaps even simple-minded. Yet prior to the actual observations in the field setting, the "obvious" was not so obvious, and issues that seriously affected the CAI program were perceived only "through a glass darkly." Being "face to face," the field work shed some light on the interlocking conceptual framework on the CAI program.

Insert Figure 6.6 about here

They knew more than they realized. In IAP, the norm content of localism and politics was a major part of the early FED deliberations. The geographical spread of IAP was comparable to the Rural Highlands Educational Improvement Organization's (RHEIO's) attempt to disperse the resources brought on by the project. In the Highlands illustration Smith and Pohland accented the technical equipment problems. The large clusters of other effects--coordination problems, enhanced power, difficulties in services, minimal program utilization and so forth, all have their counterparts in IAP. Many organizations, e.g., the multi-national business corporations, solve these problems very well, at least in terms of criteria such as profits and survival. We don't know the data, the theory, the practical experience from that domain. Are there lessons for the educator there?

3.3 Rapid Organizational Expansion

Rapid Organizational expansion was a given with which IAP lived from the moment the contract was signed. In Figure 5.12 we try to portray the meaning of the flow of events both antecedent to and consequent to the rapid organizational expansion. The pattern of consequences is most critical for this discussion. The socialization of new members into the previous small, tightly integrated organizations became problematic. Individuals who had been highly successful in particular positions and roles in the original parent organizations were shifted to new, and usually higher and with more supervisory responsibilities type of positions. A number of those were later perceived by IAP colleagues as "miscasting."

The analogy to actors being miscast for parts in a play seemed apt to many organizational members. Changes were wrought in the internal structure of both original organizations (ARC and GPC), time commitments misread, administrative overhead increased dramatically, a number of conflicts were generated, perhaps

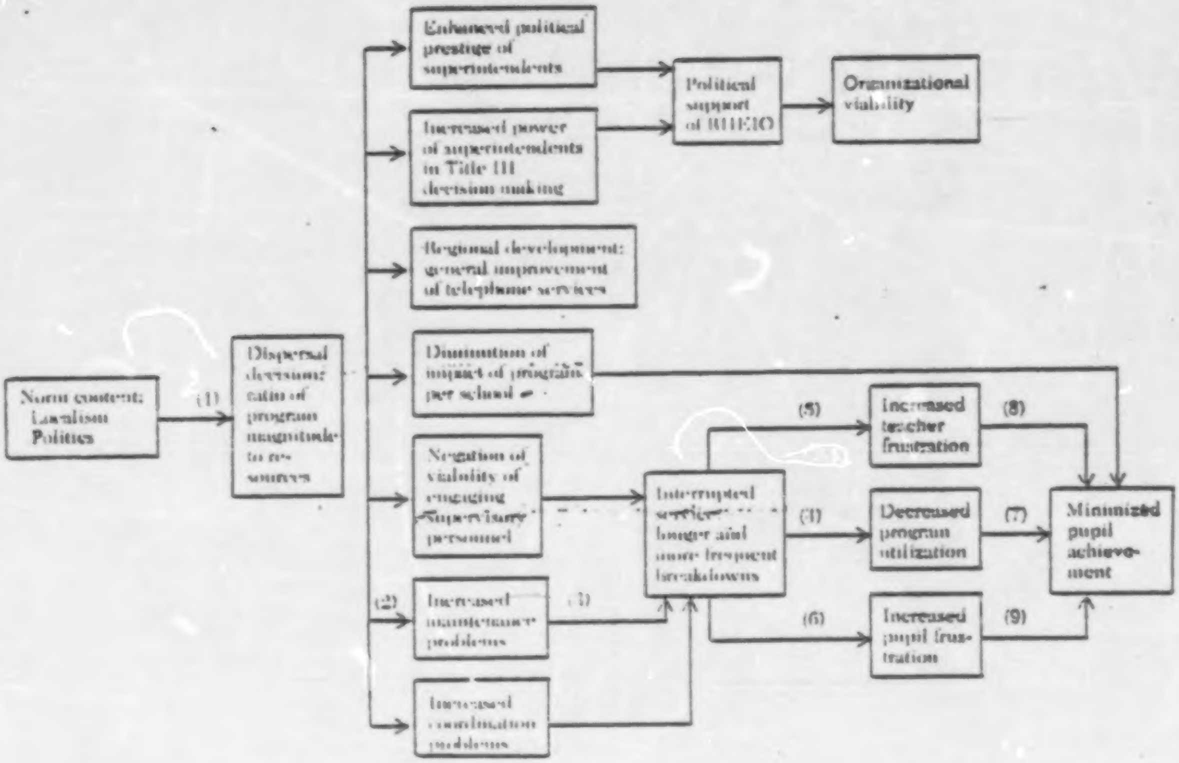
Norm content: Localism Politics
(1)
Dispersal decision: ratio of program magnitude to resources
Enhanced political prestige of superintendents
Increased power of superintendents in Title III decision making
Political support of RHEIO
Organizational viability
Regional development: general improvement of telephone services
Diminution of impact of program per school
Negation of viability of engaging supervisory personnel
(2)
Increased maintenance problems
(3)
Increased coordination problems
Interrupted service: longer and more frequent breakdowns
(5)
Increased teacher frustration
(8)
(4)
Decreased program utilization
(7)
Minimized pupil achievement
(6)
Increased pupil frustration
(9)

Figure 6.6 Antecedents and Consequences of the "Dispersal Decision" (from Smith and Pohland, 1974)

the most critical between Roy and Randy. A series of items related to compensation, amounts, comparabilities across parent organizations, and views of who was doing more or less work permeated IAP. The pattern of these events appears in Figure 5.12.

Insert Figure 6.7 about here

Much of our extended analysis occurs elsewhere. We accent, for illustration, administrative overhead and differentiation of social structure. One of the major consequences in the size of the contract, the rapidity of getting underway, the rapid growth of the organization, the blending of the two organizations, and the geographical dispersion of the work activities was administrative overhead. In the words of one key administrator:

> Started running in August, before the RFP, and only recently stopped. Amazingly intense.

And shortly after the formal signing of the overall contract, the details had to be worked out on the subcontract.

> Big snag on the subcontract. It took two weeks to do. Long time and a lot of work.

Six months into the project, after a training workshop for field researchers, one of the supervisory staff commented on issues related to organizational development and socialization of new members.

> I had thought the Field Researcher Workshop would concentrate on preliminary analysis of the sites. I anticipated that we would spend a lot of time talking about the sites and organizational innovation. I really missed the mark.
>
> The process of orienting Field Researchers was not nearly as far along as I had expected. Partially this situation existed because five of the Field Researchers were relatively new on the job. Even the others, however, did not know as much as I expected. The questions they asked made it clear that the IAP proposal and Site Manual were inadequate. Similarly our orientation procedures should have caused all these questions to be raised long before the workshop.
>
> Before we could do analysis there were whole sets of prior questions that needed to be answered. What was IAP? Who were ARC-GPC? What was the role of the Field Researcher in the project? How did the IAP organization work? What safeguards had we designed? How would Field Researchers influence what happened to data and media?
>
> As it turned out, the Field Researchers kept us honest. They pointed out questions that we had skirted, forgotten, or missed. It was clear that their questions had to be answered or at least addressed before anything else could be done. I would expect nothing less

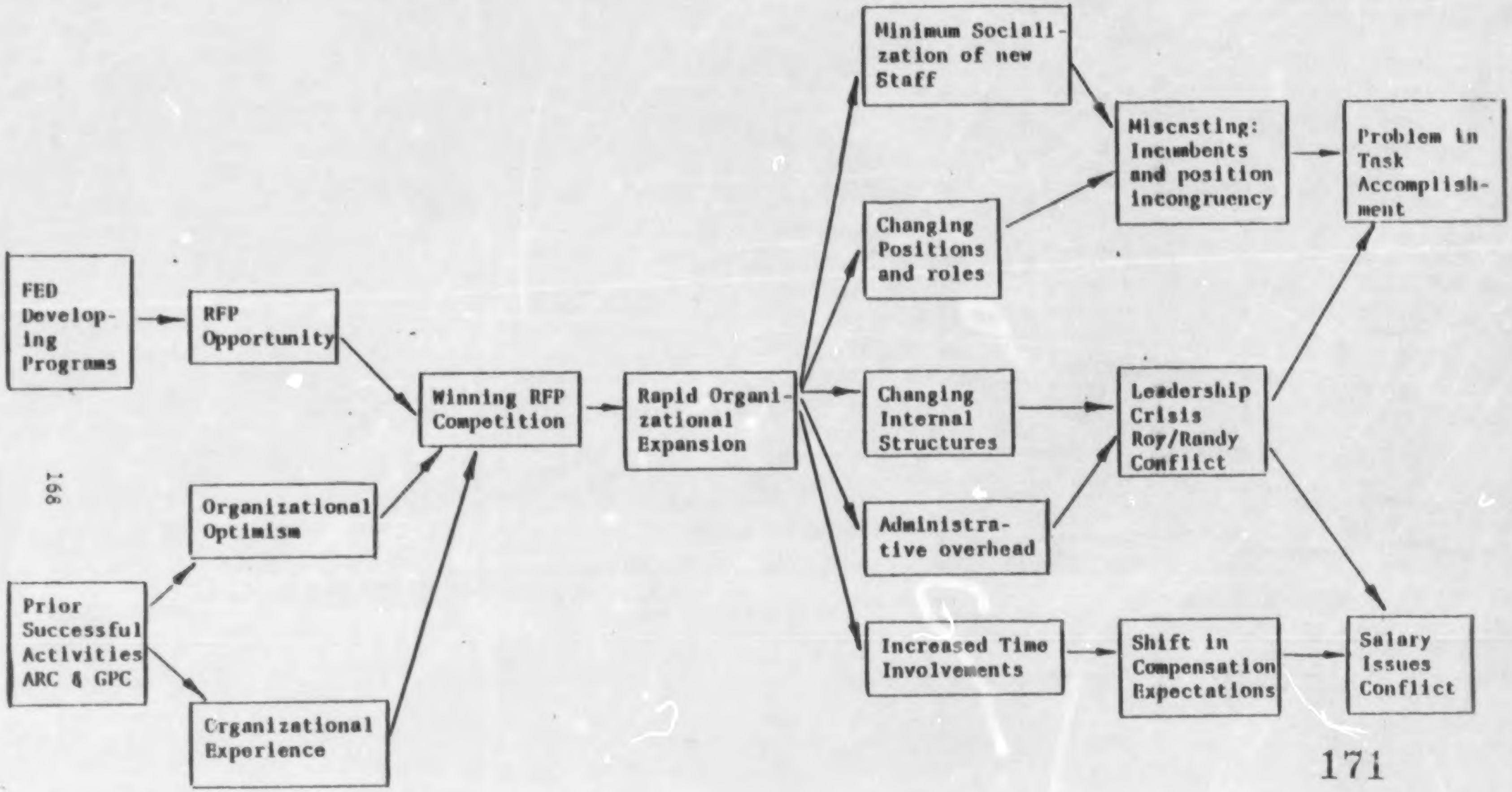
FED Developing Programs
RFP Opportunity
Prior Successful Activities ARC & GPC
Organizational Optimism
Organizational Experience
Winning RFP Competition
Rapid Organizational Expansion
Minimum Socialization of new Staff
Changing Positions and roles
Changing Internal Structures
Administrative overhead
Increased Time Involvements
Miscasting: Incumbents and position incongruency
Leadership Crisis Roy/Randy Conflict
Shift in Compensation Expectations
Problem in Task Accomplishment
Salary Issues Conflict

Figure 6.7 Rapid Organizational Expansion

> from conscientious researchers. We needed two workshops--one to do all the things we did and later another one to work more on method and analysis. I am concerned that we won't meet again until February. (PD, Y2)

Six months later, as our narrative indicates, the February meeting replayed many of the same issues.

Over time most groups and organizations differentiate into subgroups along lines of activity, beliefs, and interests. Such a social structure often accents differences and self-protection, and poses a set of problems for management and leadership. In IAP, the field researchers, at an early meeting (7/Y2), began that process. In addition, the process evoked an array of observations by one of the leadership group.

> As the week went on, I came to know the Field Researchers as individuals and to be reassured about why they were asking for what they were. I realized that I would have probably done the same things. It seemed a natural response to being the lowest status professional in an organization. It seemed the ethical thing to do when one was gathering the intimate kind of data that the Field Researchers were--i.e., to get some kind of control over what happened to the data and what the whole effort was about. I would feel the same needs in a split loyalty situation such as we had created (Field Researchers felt loyalty to both the sites and IAP).
>
> I realized that even though we had planned paths of influence for the Field Researchers, they really had little real experiences of influence up to this point. They had been presented with fiat acomplis--e.g., an IAP design, a codebook, a workshop. Many of them (5) had not been on the job long enough to influence anything. I wondered if the other Research Supervisor had the same ideas about future Field Researcher influence as I did. Maybe they had not communicated even our fledging notions.
>
> I realized the damages of paternalism. Even with all our grand designs for Field Researcher influence, it was still something we were laying on them rather than something they chose. I could see the importance of them actually "winning" a role for themselves.
>
> I began to enjoy what they were doing. They were building a tight group. I was scared about the loneliness of the job as we had designed it and it seemed that they might serve the support function for each other that was so necessary and which eluded other similar projects. They were expressing perspectives very similar to my own and they might serve as an independent force within the IAP organization to realize their perspectives. I was intrigued with the idea that we couldn't have designed it better if we had tried. I know it's a tricky business building in rallying causes for people, but such an action is worth considering for research programs with similar situations. I also wondered how more "establishment" kind of research organizations would have handled these developments--I was glad we were who we were.
>
> I did have some reservations. I was afraid that the Research Supervisor might be excluded from discussions that they should be in on. I hoped the arrangements would evolve so Research Super-

> visors would be included when appropriate. Also I was afraid the Field Researchers had unrealistic expectations. IAP was so developmental and harried that it seemed impossible that people would be able to be genuinely involved in decision-making as they might be in a more stable situation.
>
> I wonder if the Field Researchers realize the obligations they've taken on. Will they be able to span the geographical distances in letting each other know what is happening--i.e., they want the closest Field Researcher to be involved in key meetings and that person will "represent" the interests of the others. I know that representation is a tricky business--especially with independent people like the Field Researchers. I look forward to seeing how all this works out. (TI, YS)

Similar speculations were being made throughout the IAP organization--by levels, positions, and roles.

Some years ago we studied the origins of the innovative Kensington Elementary School (Smith and Keith, 1972). There, too we seemed to have learned more than we realized. Once again it was seen clearly only after we were intensely into the data analysis. Figure 5.13 and the following several paragraphs come from that discussion. We were making a strong case for the triad of issues raised by Selznick (1957) in his discussion of organizational origins. These include the selection of a social base, the building of an institutional core, and the formalization of the procedures. Specifically we were attending to the large expenditure of resources required in the formalization of procedures.

Insert Figure 6.8 about here

> Early in August, a major problem began to arise at Kensington. It involved the expense in time, energy, personnel, and materials related to beginning this new, relatively autonomous, and innovative organization. Essentially, we are saying that all organizational change, carries heavy demands for resources. Our special case of change, the origins of an innovative organization, makes the heaviest demands. If these resources have not been budgeted or if they are unavailable for other reasons, the organization lies in peril.
>
> In short, we hypothesize that the phenomenon of beginning an organization, and especially an innovative organization, requires more resources than usual, and second, that the unanticipated consequences of each purposive social action will require an added increment of resources. Finally, we argue, the Kensington planners did not anticipate to the required degree either of these demands...
>
> Furthermore, we would hypothesize that the successful operation of an organization that lacks a set of formal procedures is greatly dependent on the use of verbal skills. The style of the team meetings grew from that of the early T-group training sessions. Interpersonal communication was of utmost importance. The analysis of past events, the diagnosis of student and faculty problems, the

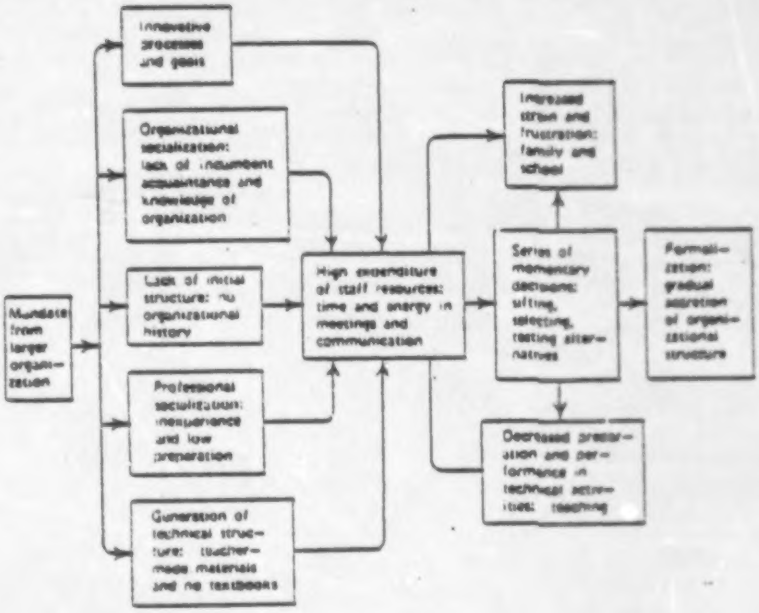
Mandate from larger organization
Innovative processes and goals
Organizational socialization: lack of incumbent acquaintance and knowledge of organization
Lack of initial structure: no organizational history
Professional socialization: inexperience and low preparation
Generation of technical structure: teacher-made materials and no textbooks
High expenditure of staff resources: time and energy in meetings and communication
Increased strain and frustration: family and school
Series of momentary decisions: sifting, selecting, testing alternatives
Decreased preparation and performance in technical activities: teaching
Formalization: gradual accretion of organizational structure

Figure 6.8 A Miniature Theory of Resources and Formalization at Kensington

reactions to community sentiments, the clarification of intermediate and long-range goals, the means of attaining objectives, the ways to preserve the uniqueness of the school, and a minimum concentration on the "nuts and bolts" of the organization characterized a typical meeting. The records of the decision-making process indicate some of the communication problems. Discussions seemed to vary among, at least, four levels. The first was the theoretical; the second, the "nuts and bolts"; the third, interpersonal relations; and the fourth, personal anxiety...

There were innumerable antecedents for what appeared to be the extraordinary amount of time devoted to the school. Kensington was new with no traditions and norms of its own to look to, to find security in, or to modify. Even more dramatic was the fact that the staff was to develop plans and patterns to follow with little or no help from other less innovative systems. Seldom were Kensington's reference groups functioning elementary school organizations. More usually, university-based scholars or selected "schools of thought" that represented what was to be attempted at Kensington filled the role. In a sense, ideas were their referents rather than schools already in operation. This is doubtless true of anything that is really innovative. However, many aspects of Kensington had been developed and utilized before the attempt to integrate them into an innovative whole in the Milford District.

Thus, with its absence of previously developed norms, procedures, and the attempt to modify what had been viewed earlier by other practitioners as solutions to procedural and instructional problems, perhaps it is not surprising that "building" the many intangible and agreed-on ways of doing things required so much time...

There also seemed to be an unspoken faith in contact and duration of contact with the building, with the ideas it represented, and with fellow faculty members. Yet, the believers in this same faith came to realize the millstonelike quality of the exhaustion and frustration that may come without respite from a responsibility and mandate so great as, "Go build a school," and the organizational corollary, "develop a formal structure" in which this will occur. We summarize these conceptions in Figure 4.1. As the figure shows, a number of events drained Kensington's resources. The processes leading to the selecting and testing of alternatives from the environment and emphasizing congruency with the mandate from the district level were critical. These expenditures were increased by the requisites accompanying implementation of innovative processes and goals. Also, as noted elsewhere, the low level of experience and formal teacher training combined with the lack of acquaintance among the staff and the lack of information about mutual capabilities, interests, and productivity to make further drains on scarce resources...

Although formalization at most provides a range within which certain activities may be performed, the continuous sifting and testing of elements from the environment made accretion of procedures most gradual. Continuous remapping and reorganization of variety and alternatives, as pointed out in previous chapters, became the norm. The lack of consistent policy and procedures placed an increased emphasis on verbal communication and interaction of the staff. The frequency and length of school and team meetings is cited elsewhere. They, in turn, with their great demands on time and energy produced interpersonal difficulties at home and school.

> And as we shall describe later, at Kensington "the processes which tend to bind and perpetuate the selected variety for some length of time" (Buckley, 1967, p. 128) were not forthcoming for all of the school, the dividions, and the teams until less innovative forms of organization (for example, self-contained classrooms) were among the sets of alternatives selected. In the interim, increased strain, frustration, and emotionality were expressed by the staff, and the time spent in preparing for performance in the classroom was reduced. (Smith and Keith, 1972, pp. 84-88)

A simple change of school to project, principal to project director, and teacher to field researcher, formative evaluator or consultative assister reveals a remarkable commonality.

3.4 Large Scale Ethnographic Research

As our narrative indicates in considerable detail IAP was a large scale educational ethnographic research project. That is another important given. Major case studies were to be done in each of the ten settings, in each of the consultative assistance sites, and on IAP itself. Very little experience, either private or public exists on the "natural history" of such projects, on the management of them, or on the outcomes.

In a series of discussions with one of the field workers from ARC, we began to talk about the need for a "theory of large scale contracted field work" as an analytic framework for interpreting a part of the IAP experiences. This discussion was preceded by several personal experiences. At the Monterrey conference, "Exploring qualitative/quantitative research methodologies in education," Herriott (1977) presented an analysis of Abt Associate's experience with ten case studies of rural schools in the larger Experimental Schools Project. In England the Center for Applied Research in Education (CARE) did a multiple case study evaluation of the Humanities Curriculum Project. Recently Stake and Easley (1978) reported on CSSE, Case Studies in Science Education.

By taking Herriott's outline of design characteristics and stresses and strains we built the format of Figure 5.14. Then drawing up recollected experience from being a participant in CSSE and a long term colleague of the Humanities Curriculum Project personnel we made some empirical guesses as to similarities and differences among these four recent large scale case study projects. Careful working through each of the items should be a major start toward a grounded theory of large scale ethnographic research. Eventually each of the items in our discussion (e.g., ideology, conflict) would need to be introduced to reconstrue Herriott's initial discussion.

Insert Figure 6,9 about here

3.5 Conclusion

The implicit quarrel between Galbraith's analysis of the New Industrial State and Schumacher's Small is Beautiful is not on our agenda. Whether profit making corporations are increasing in size and in interrelationships to the

Design Characteristics	Project Rural (of Experimental Schools)	CSSE	CARE Humanities Project	IAP
1. Field worker as case study director	Yes	Yes	Yes	Mixed
2. Field worker as data collection instrument	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. Each case study site specific	Yes	Mixed	Yes	Mixed
4. Long term field work	Yes (4 years)	No (2-6 mo)	Mid to low	Mid to long (1-2 yrs)
5. Unobtrusive Research (understanding vs. change)	Yes	Yes	Mixed	Mixed (Yes but evolving)
6. Holistic	Yes	Mid to low	Mid to low	Mid
7. Induction as a way of knowing	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8. Schooling as an alien culture	Yes	No	No	No
9. Previous field work	Mid to high	High	Mixed	Mid to low
Stresses and Strains				
1. Documentation vs. evaluation	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
2. Local confidence vs. federal confidences	Both	Yes	No	Mixed
3. Field initiated vs. centrally mandated responsibilities	Both	No	No	No
4. Time for data collection vs. time for writing	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Figure 6.9 Elements of a Theory of Large Scale Funded Ethnographic Field Studies: With Empirical Guesses (extended and modified from Herriott, 1977)

point of modifying large national states toward a common form is true and whether this should be monitored, fought and altered as Schumacher argues, or even whether both the former and the latter are out of control is not our issue. A number of events occurred in IAP because IAP was, by educational research standards a large complex research project. And perhaps even more important it was large relative to the size of the Applied Research Center prior to (and subsequent to) the IAP contract. Several key elements were discussed: the rapid rate of growth, the geographical dispersion, and the overall size. The argument is that these aspects of IAP were a complicating set of givens: conditions or forces that made everything else--communications, coordination, socialization of staff, cohesiveness, equity, task accomplishment more difficult. In turn, as problems occurred in each of these aspects or organizational functioning, the difficulties were compounded. The Galbraith and Schumacher context is important because, IAP, by their standards is not a large project nor is ARC a large organization. These larger organizations are successful if profit and survival are used as criteria. Similarly, the fact that IAP was a creative inquiry project does not lessen the force of our argument because large scale research organizations have been in existence for years, as the accounts by Allison (1969), *The R & D Game: Technical Men, Technical Managers, and Research Productivity*, indicate. Finally, we contrast IAP with several recent attempts at large scale, contracted field studies.

We maintain that this tide of consequences and issues from just three of the organizational givens, compounded by those that remain to be discussed, continue to modify both the context on which the policy evolves and the policy itself. Each segment, strand, element of the nexus allows or demands interpretations and resultant decisions about the policy. Each interpretation offers an opportunity to creatively set a course of action or clumsily lose the course.

4. THE FEDS: A CONTINUING INFLUENCE

The influence of the FEDs did not end with the signing of the original contract, nor was there a pause between the signing of the contract and the formal termination of the contract at the end of Phase II. A major strand in the management and administering of the project occurred in relationship to the monitoring by the FEDs. We mention several issues here and several later in the discussion of the management of IAP.

4.1 The Review Process

A number of analytic items repeat themselves in the consideration of the review process. The collaborative strategy is exemplified once again. Suggestions of categories of people, practitioners versus researchers were shared. Nominations of individuals for the categories arose in the FEDs and in the various parts of IAP. The time for review shifted back and forth to accomodate mutually agreed upon problems and exigencies in the work. And, finally, just exactly what--by way of plans and products--would be considered as legitimate, necessary and desirable were discussed at considerable length.

In the spirit of making basic procedures and assumptions problematic, IAP initiated a small study of varied perspectives of academic reviewers and practitioner reviewers. Our reading of that document was quite positive in that it raised a number of hypotheses regarding the academic's concern for truth claims and the practitioner's concerns for use claims, the conceptions of case studies, and the nature of writing in the two worlds. That initial study was not followed up by a more comprehensive or systematic investigation nor was it redrafted and published. It did enter into the discussions regarding the constituting of review groups. That part of the internal process was not captured in any documents by the internal assessment team. All of which makes a beautiful illustration of many of the intellectual, organizational and policy issues which were in contention.

The reviewers met and worked in various ways. One cluster, a combination of academics and practitioners, of women and men, of racial minorities and majorities, met off and on during the Phase I to Phase II transition. Interviews with them suggested the great difficulties in coming to terms with the scope and complexity of the project. They, too, suffered from being new to each other and from the need to develop shared perspectives from their quite varied and idiosyncratic personal and professional perspectives and backgrounds.

Other reviewers, at several points, were hired as individual professionals to read project products and make judgments of the quality of the products. Our prologue and excerpts in the narrative indicate the FED's attempts to bring varied points of view to bear on the judgment of IAP.

4.2 Retreat to the Formal Contract

The old phrase, the letter of the law, captures another of the important realities of IAP, and we believe events of policy in action. One part of inexperience is the neglect of the explicit formal terms in a legal contract. Often, when euphoria is running high, parties go with the spirit of the law and neglect the precise written formulation of the contract, the letter of the law. If project activities "go well" from the perspectives of all those involved the formal contract has little importance. When problems arise, from one or another perspective, then the formal contract becomes the final arbitrator and it gets picked apart, as by Philadelphia lawyers. In IAP, the two most graphic instances were the FED's monitoring processes and the ARC dominance over GPC, because ARC was the main contractor and GPC was a subcontractor.

In regard to the former, recall the letter from the FEDs to the project directors as "some concerns" were raised:

> As we read the contract, and as we review our original intentions for this contract, we continue to believe... (PD, Y2)

Increasingly, as time went on, this kind of interpretation and pressure mounted.

The relations between ARC and GPC finally were strained to the point of a de facto split. The co-director structure gave way to a single director, Roy of ARC, the organization with the prime contract. Larry became a member of the leadership group, along with several other members of IAP. The Group Process Center went on to do its own thing and met its formal commitments with two major reports on its consultative assistance activities. Figure 6.10 depicts these events. We present this here to pressage later intra-IAP kinds of issues and to note the analytical continuity of these later events with similar items between the FEDs and IAP. These kinds of replications and continuities are major aspects of our cumulating analysis, interpretation and theory.

Insert Figure 6.10 about here

4.3 The FED's Concluding View

One possible but seldom used aspect of stepwise funding is the termination of a contract midstream. This occurred with IAP. In our context of analysis and lessons learned, one of the FED documents presents clearly the FED's summary perspective.

> The decision on termination was made with considerable regret. The project is one of the largest and most ambitious in the Federal Education Department. It was the first major initiative and it represented in its conception many of the hopes the Department had for demonstrating the salience of what they believed to be important issues in education and in research. And the staff was very pleased to award the contract to contractors as committed and competent as ARC and GPC. But both the Government and the contractors began the

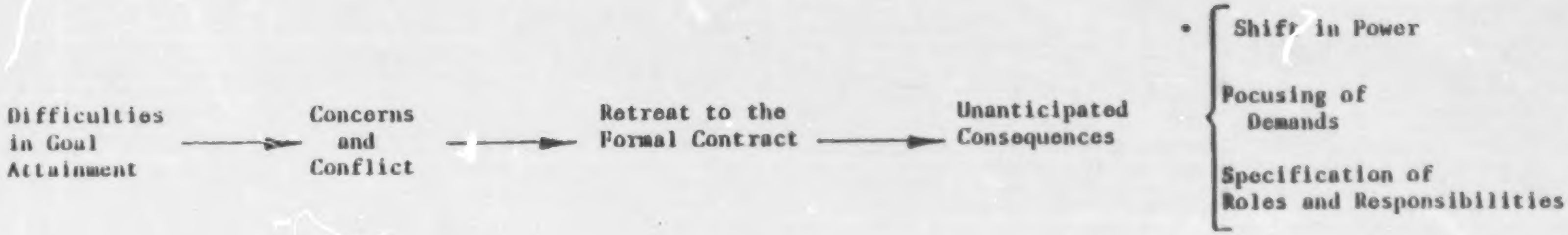
Difficulties in Goal Attainment
Concerns and Conflict
Retreat to the Formal Contract
Unanticipated Consequences
Shift in Power
Focusing of Demands
Specification of Roles and Responsibilities

Figure 6.10 Antecedents and Consequences of "Retreat to the Formal Contract"

> work knowing that great risks were involved, that the project was extremely ambitious, that its specific goals would have to be shaped en route, that its methods would have to be invented, that it required an unusual degree of coordination of a far-flung and highly complex staff operation. We all knew the risks and chose to accept them. If in its execution the project fell short of what we had hoped for it, that is true partly because, in retrospect, we can now see that we hoped for too much, more than any one project could have achieved. If those of us in Washington knew then what we know now, there is much we would have done differently. To the extent, then, that the project failed, we must share the responsibility for that failure with the contractors. It is not clear, though, that it has failed, certainly not clear that the resources invested were wasted. Issues that remain critical were addressed by a contractor team that cannot be faulted for commitment and includes people as gifted as any to be found anywhere. We have learned much about how to do and not do research on those issues as well as about the true nature of these issues. That knowledge is immensely valuable. If, in the work that continues under this contract, we can capture what has been learned, then the project will have been worth the personal and financial investments made in it. It was in full recognition of this history and these circumstances that our decision was made, and it is in this context that the particular actions we have taken should be understood. (PD, Y5)

The role of the FEDs, whether seen as participants and collaborators in the research process as hoped and maintained by the FED staff attached to IAP, or as interventionists and meddlers as members of ARC and GPC began to see them, was significant in the IAP story. FED had enormous power to shape the project through initial policy formulation, deciding on the organization that would receive the IAP contract, monitoring, reviewing and ultimately terminating the contract. The use of those powers becomes problematic. Were they conscientious civil servants or inhibitors of the research process? This question is significant in understanding IAP and holds implications for other projects. The topic is treated again after further consideration of events in Chapter 9 which discusses issues about management in IAP.

5. SUMMARY

Searching conceptually for a model of our notion of policy as a dynamic entity brings to mind the oriental fascination of boxes within boxes, each box trying to shape the next smaller one. Or the idea of systems within systems mixed with visions of tangled webs rather than orderly, concentric patterns. Perhaps, most simply, the child's game called "Telephone" captures the thrust of our thoughts. In that game a "message" is created by one member of the group and whispered to another member until the "message" has been passed all around the larger circle of listeners. The point, of course, is that the "message" may only slightly resemble the original. It may be more creative and imaginative and exciting as each child adds his or her own fantasies or it may simply deteriorate to gibberish.

In the IAP story policy wasn't set at any single point. It was generated over time as all levels of actors, each with their own personality and agenda interacted with the earlier policy actions and made decisions and interpretations--creative and otherwise. These decisions reflected yet another continuum, the abstract--the concrete, the conceptual--the operational. This process continued throughout the life of the project.

Chapter Seven

Ideology and Organizational Dynamics

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter on ideology both grows from the previous chapter, as ideology is one factor in the context that surrounds policy formulation, and adds a second major analytic theme to our point of view of the IAP story. Simultaneously, this analysis increases understanding as it highlights one strand of the causal web in IAP and complicates the picture by adding this additional strand. This analysis leads us to intersections with other analytic themes. In those instances the issues will be mentioned here but treated more thoroughly in later relevant chapters. We choose in this chapter, to focus on the ideology that emerged with the very origins of IAP and the consequences of that early ideology. Later chapters mention conflicts which arose between individuals and centers as the guiding ideology eroded as different interpretations of the ideology emerged within activities of the project.

We recognize four dimensions of ideology in this analysis. First, ideology is dynamic. It varies with time. Second, because IAP contained subgroups, the ideology contained corresponding subcomponents where any or all of the elements of the initial, core or guiding ideology were varied in centrality of definition. Third, there are varying levels of interpretation, moving from the most concrete to the most abstract. These levels become interpretations of how or why ideology may indeed affect an organization. We have chosen to discuss three levels. The first of those levels discusses ideology at a concrete and descriptive level. The second level, essentially from Festinger (1950) is more abstract and general than the first in that it offers a plausible explanation of how an ideology can be created and becomes interactive with the very structure of an organization. Third, at our most abstract level, the relevance of Berger and Luckman's (1967) discussion of subjective and objective realities is focused in our interpretation of the role of ideology in IAP. Finally, a fourth dimension of ideology exists. There are various interpretations, ours, other participants, other writers, of how ideology functions in a project or even whether or not an ideology existed in IAP at all. We explore this dimension with short excerpts from reactions to the first draft of this document. Figure 7.1 summarizes these four dimensions.

Insert Figure 7.1 about here

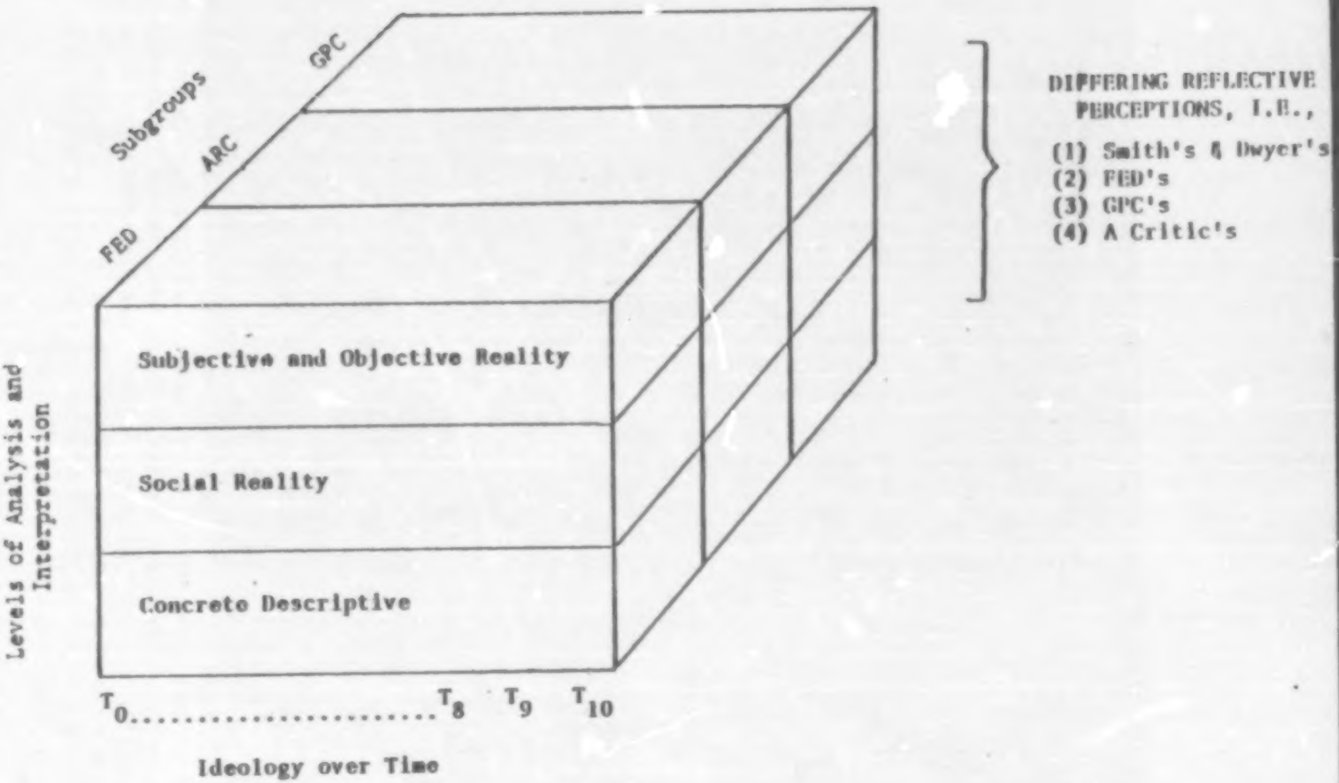
Subgroups
FED
ARC
GPC
Subjective and Objective Reality
Social Reality
Concrete Descriptive
Levels of Analysis and Interpretation
T0......................T8 T9 T10
Ideology over Time
DIFFERING REFLECTIVE PERCEPTIONS, I.E.,
(1) Smith's & Dwyer's
(2) FED's
(3) GPC's
(4) A Critic's

Figure 7.1 Dimensions in the Analysis of Ideology

2. THE PHENOMENON, ITS SALIENCE, AND INITIAL CONCEPTUALIZATION

> Mainly it's the alternative school mentality of the ARC group. I mean they were not working as research people, they were missionaries. And a missionary works for the greater glory of God all day long. And that's--that was their attitude. They were out to save the world. They weren't out to do research--it's a whole missionary-alternative school mentality of professional dogooders. (TI, Y5)

This dramatic statement came from an interview while the IAP participant was trying to find some antecedent which might explain the project's multiple problems. Another participant, discussing the history of the project, less dramatically but directly referenced ideology as an antecedent in IAP's troubles and indicated the utility of examining that aspect of the IAP story.

> I had hoped that you guys would go into it too, although it's not for me to say what you're supposed to go into, the whole ideology, the underlying ideology of IAP and how it played itself out [is an important theme]. (TI, Y5)

Thus, our attention was directed to ideology as one of the multiple explicators of frustration and failure in the IAP story.

Our own personal experiences in other settings provided further impetus to examine the ideology of the project. Those experiences included Smith's earlier use of "formal doctrine" about which he said: "Ideology, a visionary theorizing, could serve about as well,..." (Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 21), and Dwyer's alternative school experiences which frequently led him to question similarities between the IAP setting and events at the Athens Alternative School (Dwyer, in process). A closer examination of ideology in general and IAP's specific ideology, then, seemed a reasonable and productive line of inquiry and analysis.

The literature suggested a number of intriguing possibilities for extending the analysis and synthesis with which we were struggling. Lodge (1976) as well as anyone raises both the potency and the subtlety of ideological analysis.

> Ideological analysis addresses the problem of man's knowing, bound as he is by his location in time and place and culture. Like a

> didactic psychoanalysis or a training in anthropology it helps to make explicit the local conditions that structure perception and direct the synthesis of knowledge. This must be beneficial, because the person who is most ignorant of these dominant factors and conditions is the least free and most predetermined in his conduct. (p. 14)

Elsewhere in the literature ideology in its broadest sense is a murky concept at best. Efforts to distinguish ideology from a confusing array of related concepts, e.g., attitudes, beliefs, values, norms, outlooks, creeds, systems of thought, movements, programs and culture led to a general agreement with Rokeach's use of the term.

> An ideology is an organization of beliefs and attitudes--religious, political or philosophical in nature--that is more or less institutionalized or shared with others, deriving from external authority. (1972, p. 123)

To gain greater specificity we created Table 7.1 from Shils' (1968) discussion of the distinguishing features of ideology.

Insert Table 7.1 about here

Shils' criteria and their counterparts on our data are listed below. We believe they argue that an ideology was present in the IAP story.

(1) An explicitness of formulation - In this case subjects continually reference a common history in the alternative school movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

(2) Systematic integration around a particular moral or cognitive belief- The IAP belief system seems to revolve around a pervasive egalitarian core. This point will be developed in the following section.

(3) Acknowledged affinity with other past or contemporaneous patterns - In the instance of ideologies groups will be intent on their own uniqueness. Certainly IAP saw itself as a distinct and innovative group in the research world.

(4) Closure to novel elements or variations - The criterion is reflected paradoxically in IAP's celebration of creative and novel approaches. However, once that approach was determined, there was resistance to the encroachment of traditional operating styles.

(5) Imperativeness of manifestation in conduct - The IAP ideology was manifest in the activities and decisions of the group. The nature of that manifestation will be explored later in this chapter.

Degree of Adherence to Criterion

H = High L = Low

M = Medium N = Never

	Explicitness of formulation	Systematic integration around particular moral or cognitive belief	Acknowledged differences from other patterns	Closure to novelties or variations	Imperativeness of manifestation in conduct	Accompanying affect	Demanded consensus	Authoritativeness of promulgation	Corporate body formed to realize goals	
IDEOLOGY	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	
OUTLOOKS	N	N	L	L	L	L	L	N	L	Contain within themselves other creeds and are therefore pluralistic
CREEDS		M	M	M	M	M	L	M	L	Can lead to ideologies if the creeds are adverse to central societal beliefs and if promulgator formulates a comprehensive system.
SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT	L	L	H	L	L	L	L		L	
MOVEMENTS	L	L	H	L	L	L	L		L	
PROGRAMS	H	M	H	M		L			L	Has a particular and limited objective which prevents it from developing into a persuasive ideology.

Table 7.1 Similarities and Differences in Closely Related Patterns of Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values

(6) Accompanying affect - Chapters Three, Four and Five attempt to communicate some of the affective tone present in the IAP settings. It was obvious to us in the settings and during interviews that IAP felt their beliefs and were pained in a very real sense at their own failure to realize their beliefs.

(7) Demanded consensus - The sense of the imperativeness of group solidity rose clearly from the "collaboration," "mutuality" and "family" rhetoric present in the planning phases of the project.

(8) Association with a corporate body - There is generally, in the case of ideologies, a group or "corporate body" existing and working to realize the goals of the ideology. Obviously, in our case, IAP was that body or group.

(9) Finally, Shils' criterion of authoritativeness of promulgation must be met. Shils makes this a key characteristic. It is perhaps the most difficult requirement to satisfy in this instance for, indeed, no single great, charismatic or political leader emerged in the IAP story, nor were the words of any single person closely adhered to. Instead, and importantly so, the IAP enterprise seemed to emerge from the climatic events of the late sixties and early seventies. Although there was no single great national leader, the multi-faceted rebellions, revolutions, demonstrations and movements produced a long list of minor prophets who were outspoken in many fields. Education certainly had its own long list, to wit, Kozol, Holt, Herndon, Weingarten, Postman, Weil, etc. No matter the particular movement to which each spoke be it issues of race, sex, education or whatever, the flavor of the rhetoric was similar. That flavor distinctly held the same grass roots and human potential essence that so distinctly couched the IAP dream. So to Shils' criterion of an authoritative promulgator we can offer no direct response. But the condition can be adequately met if one can consider the possibility of a collective and historical promulgator in the form of many contemporary mass movements.

In summary, the participants themselves point to some form of ideology as one explicator of many of IAP's frustrations and the data appear to support that an ideology was operating in some form in the Inquiry and Assistance Project. In the next section we develop our conception of the ideology as it appeared in the early part of IAP's history. It is a snapshot, a static glimpse of a dynamic strand. It seems as a beginning point from which the analysis may proceed.

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3. SPECIFYING THE CONTENT OF IAP'S IDEOLOGY

3.1 Our Logic-in-Use

The logic-in-use that assisted us in the derivation and conceptualization of the ideological content of IAP had three main elements. First, Blumer (in Bruyn, 1963) says that in a new organization a developing ideology emerges within the group and has a two-fold purpose and nature. The first aspect of the ideology is a formal or erudite expression of the doctrine and beliefs of the group which serves as the group's raison d'être. This first aspect matches well Smith's use of "formal doctrine" (Smith and Keith, 1971, pp. 21-53).

The second aspect, says Blumer; assumes an informal format. It is consumed by the general public and serves to help them understand the beliefs and actions of the group. This informal aspect leads to the second major idea. This informal aspect of ideology, the folklore, can be expanded by the concept of organizational saga. The definition which follows, both moves us closer to our general definition of ideology and continues to suggest its importance.

> An organizational saga is a collective understanding of unique accomplishments in a formally established group. The group's definition of the accomplishment, intrinsically historical but embellished through retelling and rewriting, links stages of organizational development. The participants have added affect, an emotional loading, which places their conception between the coolness of rational purpose and the warmth of sentiment found in religion and magic. An organizational saga presents some rational explanation of how certain means led to certain ends, but it also includes affect that turns a formal place into a beloved institution, to which participants may be passionately devoted.... (Clark, 1972, pp. 178-179)

The organizational saga, then, becomes synonymous with the informal aspect of the developing ideology of which Blumer spoke. The formal doctrine and the saga embody the ideology.

Thirdly, George Lodge (1976, pp. 31-34) discusses methods for analyzing ideologies and says that an organization's ideology may be found in (1) the ideology of the leaders, (2) the stated purpose of the organization, (3) the end results of the organization's activities, and (4) the organization's own structure as an embodiment of the ideology itself. These sources of the ideology are identical to the data set used to generate the multiple perspective saga of IAP contained in Chapters Two, Three and Four of this report. Thus, with ideology defined and a case for its containment in the formal doctrine and saga of IAP we may proceed to a specific description of that ideology.

3.2 The Major Elements

Egalitarianism

A striking quality of the IAP saga was the frequent emphasis the participants of IAP placed on the equality of all men and women. It was particularly visible in IAP's concern for minority rights, IAP's style of organization and in the impetus of the project itself, i.e., a sophisticated research group can learn something meaningful from the community at large and from practitioners in the field of education. This principle will be called egalitarianism. The following comments typify this element.

> We didn't want to push products on people, that we didn't want a massive project, that we didn't want to have our money be the reason the project existed. (TI, Y5)
>
> These are not six widgets that we're going to test and measure.... put some decent people out there....Let's try not to have it be simply or mostly scholarly research, let's see if this can be helpful to some other people, in the metaphor of the good conversation. (TI, Y5)
>
> [We're] always fighting these terrible hierarchial people. (TI, Y5)
>
> When compared to the possibility of some abstracted, white-coated, clip-boarded research group, with a thermometer to put in the mouth of the school district....I mean, why not pick some people who at least have done something, and have some commitments? (TI, Y5)
>
> They [IAP] wanted to hire minority people and specifically females. (TI, Y5)
>
> They were so busy being fairy godmothers to the minority people. (TI, Y5)

Egalitarianism may be viewed as the central or core belief of IAP in that it permeated the attitudes and actions of the participants individually and as a group. Each of the remaining elements are consistent with that belief or press towards its realization. These remaining elements of the ideology can be related to how IAP viewed the individual, its own organization as a group and society at large. The ideological elements at the individual level stress the importance of self-awareness and self-expressiveness.

Self Awareness

Members of the IAP team demonstrated themselves to be reflective individuals, aware of their own potential and needs and the effect of events on their lives. They addressed their own development and wondered about the how and why of their personal changes and growth. This could be expressed as a belief in the importance of the development of human potential. We label it Self Awareness.

> They said that not just organizationally, but personally they were looking at the merger as kind of a next stage in personal growth. (TI, Y5)

> And Larry Masters had been saying for years, "I want to get into more real situations in cities. (TI, YS)
>
> And the thing I remember feeling from that phone call was my life is changing, I don't know how, but it sure as hell is changing. (TI, YS)
>
> Out of a lot of naive, negative reactions to things we've been part of...and in our rush not to simply produce another set of volumes about projects, we had some very half-baked...not well thought through...not well grounded...notions that we'd ask the contractor to build into their own organization. (TI, YS)

In short, by being self-aware one could determine the direction and actions necessary for the development of his/her potential.

Self Expression

Self Awareness could be enhanced by full and open communication which would necessitate honesty with oneself and with others. This meant verbalizing one's feelings of fear, anger, anguish, or jubilation, an element that could be noted in the highly affective nature of comments in the various settings. This element of the ideology will be simply called Self Expression.

> I backed off, apologized for my blunder....She said, "It's just that that is a real touchy word around here." (FN, YS)
>
> We have arguments about whether the book as a product is the only way to turn field research into usable insight for others. (TI, YS)
>
> We were a little more hot blooded than that. (TI, YS)
>
> And being bushy-tailed and bright-eyed, we want to stay away from that sort of greasy network of money grubbers, right? We were better than that. (TI, YS)
>
> I responded very favorably to them (ARC) as people. (TI, YS)
>
> I've never seen people deal so shabby with human beings in my life, while they're telling you they love you. (TI, YS)

IAP's views of the group as cohesive and democratic were consistent with the views of individuals. Any member of the team who was expressive would surely help build cohesiveness and those who were self aware could contribute not only to their own personal development but to the development of the project through participatory democracy. Further, such investment at the individual level would surely breed group loyalty. Thus, at the group level, elements of IAP ideology can be specified as cohesiveness, participatory democracy and loyalty.

Cohesiveness

Initially the IAP group projected the image of a tight, mission-oriented group. That orientation towards an essentialness of harmony and closeness, we label Cohesiveness.

> I have notes here...in the grand spirit of collaboration among everybody and every level of our program. (TI, Y5) .
>
> They combined their proposal under a pink fog of harmony. (TI, Y5)
>
> The leadership cluster of key ARC and GPC personnel has been able to build a well integrated, cohesive team. (PD, Y1)
>
> Their [i.e., ARC and GPC leaders] cohesiveness should not be underestimated. Their value commitments and substantive interests are matched only by the quality of esprit de corps among them. (PD, Y1)

Participatory Democracy

The planning and organizational phases of the IAP project were characterized by a belief that everyone involved in the process could significantly contribute to the planning of the project and should have a voice in the collective endeavor in which they participated. The project itself was based on a helping model, i.e., people could and should have a voice in solving their own problems. These beliefs could be seen in the group process and participative style of decision making that typified the early phases of the project. This element of the ideology we call Participatory Democracy.

> It's at the grass roots we need to turn first. (TI, Y5)
>
> Both (ARC and GPC) have been on the forefront of the development of practical consultation techniques for helping schools solve their own problems more effectively. (PD, Y1)
>
> The concluding chapter...recommended strongly that people within the schools and school districts must be more involved....They must no longer be passive recipients...but become active problem solvers. (TI, Y5)

Loyalty

Though many references of loyalty to the organization and its ideals appear in the saga, one such reference clearly captures the essence of this element. That reference was contained in a letter written to a FED leader by an IAP leader shortly after the project had been terminated and in the face of internal gloom over the inability of the project to realize its goals:

> Don't give up the ship. Your original conception of where lie the springs and supports for change is unassailably correct....Don't give up the ship. Stay with the idea....Stay with finding organizational supports....Participative democracy....You are the one bunch in the government who know that changes...are fragile....Hold fast. Keep up the fight. (PD, Y5)

Again, these elements all surround the core belief, egalitarianism. The right to speak out, to participate, to grow all echo the pervasiveness of "we are all equal, we are all in this together" and lead conclusively to IAP's views of society as both pluralistic and holistic.

Pluralism

Members of IAP were aware of and spoke directly and positively about differing systems of thought and living. There was a general respect for differing perspectives. This aspect of the ideology will be called Pluralism.

> The two centers have an almost ideal balance of similarities and contrasts. (PD, Y1)
>
> Some differences that distinguish ARC and GPC also strengthen their capacity to carry out the proposed tasks. (PD, Y1)
>
> Edward was not as competent...but we felt it was very important that we have a black, another black person on the staff. (TI, Y5)
>
> They wanted to hire minority people and specifically females. I think that might have been her preferences because of people that had been previously hired most were non-minority males. So, sort of like a balancing kind of act. (TI, Y5)

Holism

The awareness of pluralism in IAP leads directly to an attitude which may be termed Holism. IAP was not only respectful of differing perspectives but saw how they might each contribute to some ideal whole.

> I had the image of a kind of parallel and sequential levels of activity....There would be ways of bringing together all that we were learning at each of these levels toward something that was in fact more comprehensive. (TI, Y5)
>
> But the magnitude and complexity of this comprehensive project requires a large, well-integrated and competent action-research team. (TI, Y5)
>
> Both (centers) share a philosophic base and a set of concrete experiences. (TI, Y1)
>
> [This is the] best opportunity during the history of federal support for educational improvement to combine these values, skills and professional interests into one major effort. (TI, Y1)
>
> They were bringing into this merger some real strengths and what we were buying was the best of two organizations, each with its own strengths and experience, into a working whole. (TI, Y5)

Valueing differences and maintaining that differing systems of thought actually could complement each other and strengthen society as a whole was, perhaps IAP's biggest gamble. Such a system would guarantee equality and dignity for all. IAP wanted that system to work within its organization. They could become an ideal, social model.

In summary, egalitarianism, self-awareness, self expression, cohesiveness, participatory democracy, loyalty, pluralism and holism are the eight elements of the IAP ideology. They form a pattern or constellation about a core belief, egalitarianism. They can be conceptualized as a "concatenated theory" (Kaplan, 1974, p. 298). A diagramatic representation of that pattern is presented as Figure 7.2. We have labeled this particular constellation of beliefs an

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Insert Figure 7.2 about here

"alternative school ideology"[1] in deference to the common alternative school background that influenced so many of the leaders in IAP. Yet the pattern is recognizable in a broader context and reflects the strivings toward realization of individual worth and the regaining of control over one's environment that characterized the popular movements of the sixties (Benne, Bennis and Chin, 1976, p. 18-19).

Lodge (1976) and Kanter (1972) present two other ideologies which address this broader context. The similarities between the three patterns adds, for us, confidence in our analysis as well as emphasizes the importance of the historical context from which they sprang. Lodge lists the elements of a "new American ideology" (pp. 16-20) as communitarianism, shared rights or privileges of members of organizations, emphasis on group rather than individual need, a pervasive state which plans and coordinates all aspects of life and finally holism--the concept that all parts of society and nature will unify to some great, integrated whole. Kanter discusses the "utopian" (p. 1) ideals of harmony, attainment of goals through working together cooperatively, self constructed rather than mandated social order, commitment and the unity of individual and group needs. Lodge sees the "new" ideology as emergent from contemporary events. Kanter agrees but finds an historical parallel in the period 1840-1860 (pp. 166-167). Our point here is simply that the "alternative school" ideology is particularistic to the IAP group but not idiosyncratic. It is only one expression of a much more broadly held and pervasive system of beliefs and values in American society.

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[1] Some readers of the first draft of FPA attached a negative connotation to this choice of labels. For clarity, let us state here that the authors are sympathetic to the efforts of the alternative school movement to create educative environments that would enhance the opportunity for students to realize their individual potential. No negative tone is intended.

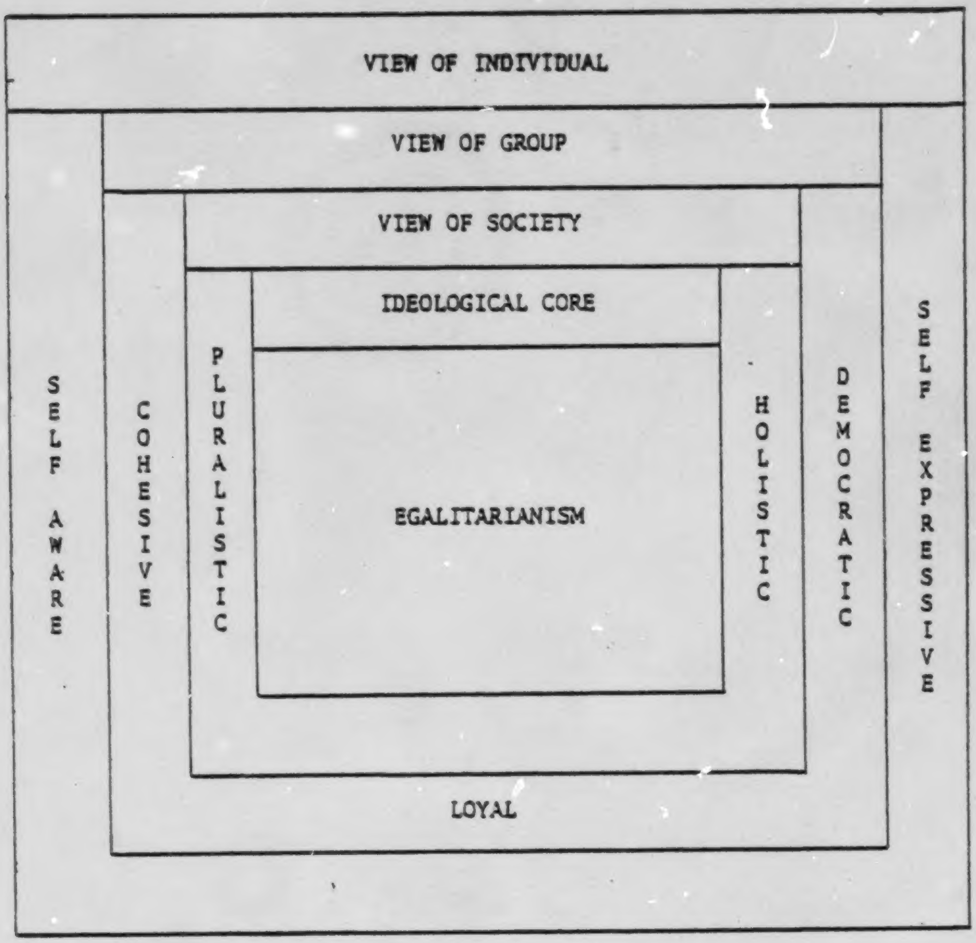
VIEW OF INDIVIDUAL
VIEW OF GROUP
VIEW OF SOCIETY
IDEOLOGICAL CORE
EGALITARIANISM
SELF AWARE
COHESIVE
PLURALISTIC
HOLISTIC
DEMOCRATIC
SELF EXPRESSIVE
LOYAL

Figure 7.2 Concatenation of the IAP Ideology: The "Alternative School" Ideology

4. ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES: THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN IAP

4.1 Ideology and Organizational Development

Blumer offers a typology which portrays the development of social movements and describes the mechanisms through which the movement grows and organizes (in Bruyn, 1963). He sees movements evolving from periods of social unrest through times of popularization and formalization to an era of institutionalization. He says that the evolutionary process is driven by four basic mechanisms: (1) Agitation in society serves to loosen the group's hold on traditions and encourages creativity and experimentation with new approaches to meet the group needs. (2) Esprit de Corps develops and serves to reinforce a collective self-concept. Usually this is accomplished through common sharing and ceremonial behavior. (3) Developing Morale is an extension of Esprit de Corps. Persistance of the emerging group spirit allows for the development of a unified front within the group which then can serve to ward off external criticisms or threats. Any successful defense leads rapidly to a confidence that the group's movement will succeed. (4) Finally, a Developing Ideology emerges which has a two-fold purpose and nature. The first aspect of the ideology is a formal or erudite expression of the doctrine and beliefs of the group which serves as the group's raison d'être. The second aspect of the ideology, says Blumer, assumes an informal format. It is consumed by the general public and serves to help them understand the beliefs and actions of the group.

These mechanisms, culminating in the formation of an ideology, are readily visible in the IAP story. As briefly suggested, the attitudes, beliefs, and values of many of the IAP leaders and several of the FEDs were revealed and affected by their individual experiences with alternative schools. Certainly, they were sympathetic with the ideals espoused by that movement and the more pervasive values present in the social context of the 1960s. Clearly, those experiences would have encouraged creative thinking about group and societal needs. Esprit de Corps developed informally in many settings. Remembering college days one participant said:

> During my final year at college, I used to gather with a group that met for lunch in one of the seminar rooms. We started talking about friends who had recently graduated...and how frustrated and isolated they were...in the big system. And from that [came] the notion..."What would it be like if a bunch of us tried to sell ourselves to a system and to a university to run a school? We would hold university positions but our work would be done in a high school. (TI, Y5)

Morale developed as a few of the group actually operationalized such projects and others, as in the ARC and FED group, got into positions to do so. Their morale received a terrific boost as the IAP proposal won out over much more traditional proposals from groups with long histories of federal work. The ideology did emerge with several essential functions, as indicated by House (1974), Clark (1972), Smith and Keith (1971), Blumer (in Bruyn, 1963). The ideology provides an explanation of the organization's reason for existence, provides a means to argue for funds and resources, aids in the recruitment of staff and implies a form or organizational structure.

Insert Figure 7.3 about here

The IAP saga reflects each of these functional aspects of the ideology. First, the emergent ideology provided a rationale for the joining of diverse organizations into a whole that could tackle the IAP mandate. As related earlier the authors of the IAP proposal stated about themselves:

> Each is sincerely committed to more humanistic skills, norms, and structures within schools. Each has been trying to build new and effective strategies....Each views this RFP as the single best opportunity during the history of federal support for educational improvement to combine these values, skills, and professional interests into one major effort. In our thoughts, "this one puts it all together." And, perhaps most importantly, all in a very short time have become devoted to one another. Their cohesiveness should not be under emphasized. Their value commitments and substantive interests are matched only by the quality of *esprit de corps* among them [emphasis theirs]. (PD, Y1)

Second, the emergent ideology was consistent with the mandated purpose of FED and, through FED, the resources for the Inquiry and Assistance Project were made available. Again from the earlier narrative:

> And when compared to the possibility of some abstracted, white coated, clip-boarded research group, with a thermometer to put in the mouth of the school district, what fun is that? I mean, why not pick some people who at least have done something, and have some commitments, rather than another contract job group of which a great many applied....This looks like a good bunch, and why not back them. (TI, Y5)

Third, the ideology drew people to the new organization. The saga recounts that story too. Vividly, one participant said:

> I think, there was a sort of ideological connection among us at that time....We wanted to combine these research methods with the integration methods and we had this perspective that it's at the grass roots we need to turn to first...I don't know if those things were ever directly said, but in my mind they were there. It was a culture [an ideological culture] bringing us together. (TI, Y5)

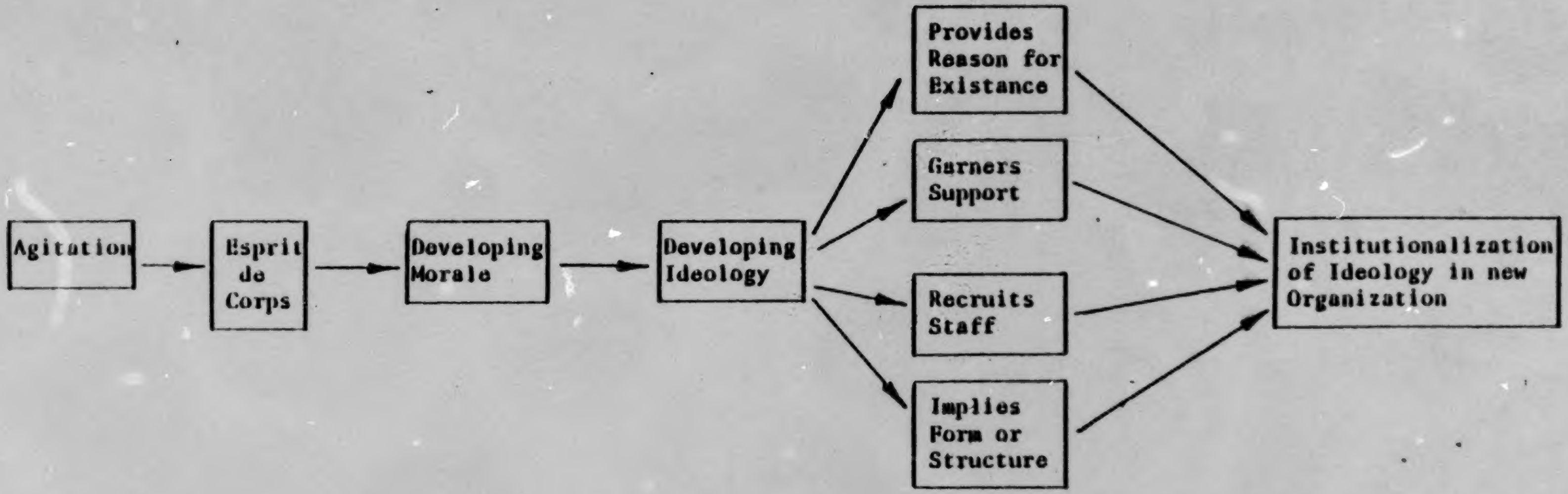
Agitation
Esprit de Corps
Developing Morale
Developing Ideology
Provides Reason for Existance
Garners Support
Recruits Staff
Implies Form or Structure
Institutionalization of Ideology in new Organization

Figure 7.3 Ideology in the Creation of Organization

Finally, there was an implicit structure indicated by the ideology; one which reflected the cohesive, democratic and egalitarian aspects of the constellation. The saga is replete with these indicators, e.g., establishment of co-directors in IAP, mutuality between ARC, GPC and FED, site researchers arguing for a role in the decision making process, etc. One of the participants reflected with chagrin on trying "to get a major project going based on some ideological connections and...not a lot of other kinds...of structures (TI, Y5)."

The saga chronicles the merger of ARC and GPC and their subsequent winning of the Inquiry and Assistance Project competition. We discussed the highly functional role of the ideology in that process. Further, we saw in the new organization's, i.e., IAP's, actions and decisions the constant influence of that same ideology. "Pink fogs" are pervasive and penetrating. Indeed, we feel all aspects of the IAP organization demonstrated to some extent its influence.

4.2 Ideology and Organizational Decisions

Euphoria and great expectations are typical conditions surrounding the winning of competitions and the launching of new enterprises. Certainly, IAP was no exception. However, elation can quickly turn to dispair in the face of the multiple decisions and endless tasks required to set the organization in motion and to flesh out its ranks. That story was recounted in the IAP saga. A confidence in the group's basic beliefs and values existed in that period of the organization's history. IAP had been a successful competitor and existed, to a large degree, becaue of these beliefs and values. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that yet another set of important decisions and actions would be "screened" through the guiding ideology. It is at this stage that participants, perhaps, found internal disagreement about what elements of the guiding ideology actually meant. Yet, we find evidence of the influence of each of the elements of the ideology in the major decision-making areas of that period. A brief digression into the nature of organizations will allow us to demonstrate how thoroughly the ideology pervaded IAP.

The nature of the total organization can be captured for our purposes with Udy's (1962) conceptualization of organizations and organizational subsystems. He presents goals, technology, environment and formal structure as the meaningful subsystems of any organization. Basically, the subsystems can be defined as:

Goals - Objectives or missions for which the organization or social system is created and expected to achieve.

Technology - The procedures utilized in the organization to realize its goals.

Environment - The clients, supervisors, accreditors, contractors, regulatory organizations and all other organizations, physical conditions or larger societal conditions in which or by which the organization functions.

Formal Structure - A formal authority structure, a hierarchy of the organization of command, systematic decision making processes and reward processes comprise the formal structure.

Udy identifies within the formal structure a Group-Individual distinction. He includes individual attitudes, interactions between individuals and whole group processes, norms and structures in this refinement. Again, the ideology appears to have influenced each subsystem in the IAP story.

The goals of IAP, inquiry, consultative assistance and articulation of knowledge and practice were essentially set by FED. But the writers held true to elements of the "alternative school" ideology. An outside consultant in the project later wrote of the goals:

> IAP is so organized as to incarnate the assumption that articulation from practice to knowledge to practice--can occur, in that order, in one project, in something between two and three years. Moreover, IAP makes all sorts of assumptions about what knowledge is, what forms it ought to come in, and what good and bad practice are. Finally, the project has deeply built into it the expectation that IAP's job is to *do* good linkages, to show *how* to do it, rather than to see *if* it can be done, *if* the assumptions are plausible, and so on. IAP makes what I would characterize as hopeful and helpful assumptions, but they are also gross assumptions--heavy hopes about help--which rest on thin experiential and scientific ice. (TI, Y4)

"Linkage" or articulation reminds us of the holistic beliefs of the participants that led to the constant search of how "to put it all together." "Assumptions about what knowledge is" reflected the egalitarian dominated view that somehow knowledge is practice and practice is knowledge and the "all we have to do by way of research is to put some good people out there to watch and we'll learn" attitude of the planners. "Heavy hopes about help" and "good and bad practice" spoke to the mission--the save the world--nature of IAP and its participants and the participatory democratic viewpoint that typified their "good and bad" valuations.

The formal structure of IAP, which for Udy subsumes both organizational structures and informal aspects of human interaction was, at the risk of redundancy, characterized by an attempt to create an organization where everyone had a chance to impact on decisions and where individuals left behind prejudices and inequalities and worked together collaboratively, openly and honestly. The narrative is saturated with these themes, as aspirations.

The technology, or procedures used by IAP to accomplish its goals, was an innovative approach to social science research. Their decision to place the field researchers in the settings as participant observers and to develop their theories in a grounded theory tradition both logically follow from their egalitarian and participatory democratic orientations. Participant observers enter into their settings far more than is permissable in other forms of research. Therefore, the researchers could participate and help when possible and when not in direct conflict with their role as researchers. The grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) is what it sounds like, a working from the concrete realities of the data upward to higher levels of theory. It is the "grassroots" strategy of the research world. Perhaps, this similarity with grassroots governing combined with the egalitarian element and developed the confidence and essentialness of hiring "culturally sensitive" site researchers rather than trained social scientists. Finally, IAP vowed to develop a complex and innovative computer system that would facilitate the articulation phase of their study. It was to achieve for the qualitative study what computers accomplish for the quantitative researcher, storage of data and retrieval of new and enlightening combinations of data bits. One can almost imagine an attempt at creating a more humanistic computer.

Lastly IAP idealized its multiple environmental relationships. These included the interfaces of ARC, ARC-East, GPC and FED. The saga clearly sets out the collaborative expectations of these key organizations and how they would complement each other, forming a new and complete whole. The cohesive element of the ideology pervaded expectations of IAP's work in both the inquiry and consultative assistance sites. They were there to help and be helped. They were to be different but equal in the settings with their cooperative subjects. They expected harmony. Even in the larger context of the research world they expected formative assistance which they could, in turn, return in the form of an intricate and improved methodology.

Insert Figure 7.4 about here

Figure 7.4 captures this argument. Any developing organization faces a series of decisions around its goals, its technology, its formal structure and its environmental relationships. In IAP, the ideology provided a major "screen," a perspective, or context in which those decisions were made. The resulting decisions carried, as we have indicated, important qualities for the later functioning of the project.

4.3 Ideology, Social Reality, Long Term Effects

All of this is subsumed by the "pink fog of harmony" metaphor used by a subject in an early interview and recounted in the narrative. Functionally, that "fog" or ideology helped to create a situation and an organization to realize the group's goals. It continued to function as an influence in decision making in each of IAP's subsystems. Reflectively, we can luxuriate in the advantages of hindsight to muse over the question of whether the ideology actually facilitated or impeded IAP's ability to satisfy its mandate. One approach to answering that question is to examine the mechanism by which the ideology became a fog or screen through which the world was viewed and decisions made. In so doing we move from our concrete-descriptive analysis towards a more general-abstract analysis.

That mechanism was the creation of a social reality. A social reality functions in any group to help the group agree on the validity of its own collective opinions, attitudes and beliefs. Festinger (1950) states that if validity cannot be based on hard, physical evidence, it must be inferred from social reality. Where physical evidence is scarce, social reality becomes the basis for judging whether or not one's own views fit the real world. Social reality is "anchored in a group of people with similar beliefs, opinions, and attitudes" (p. 272). We posit that the egalitarian, "alternative school" ideology became a social reality in the IAP experience, i.e., a reality base from which the outer world could be viewed and the inner world of IAP maintained.

The fact that this social reality is also an ideology becomes critical at this point. Two of the characteristics of ideologies listed earlier in the discussion were emphasis on uniqueness and closure to novel elements or variations. Both of these characteristics, if present in a group, would encourage

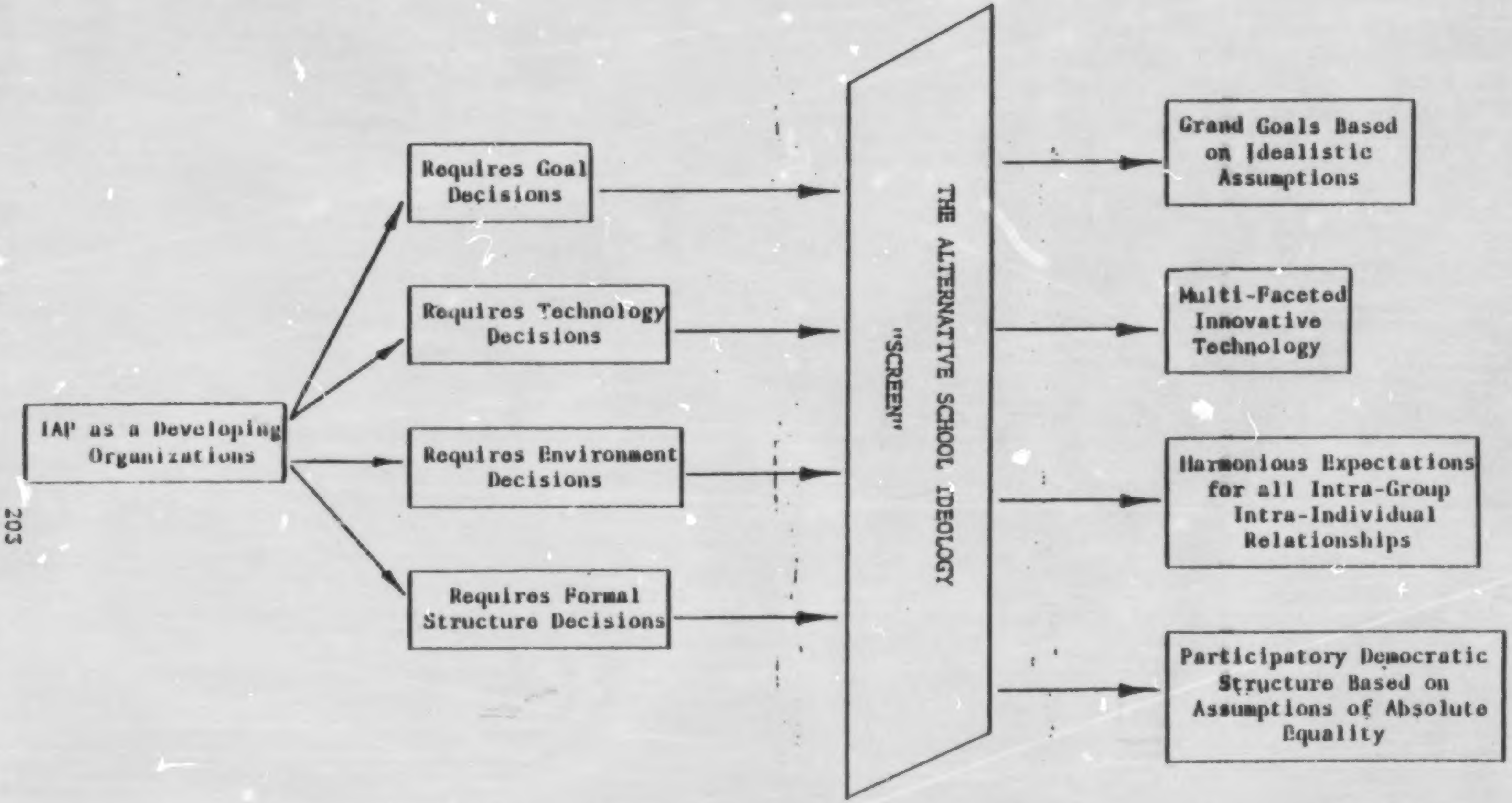
IAP as a Developing Organizations
Requires Goal Decisions
Requires Technology Decisions
Requires Environment Decisions
Requires Formal Structure Decisions
THE ALTERNATIVE SCHOOL IDEOLOGY
"SCREEN"
Grand Goals Based on Idealistic Assumptions
Multi-Faceted Innovative Technology
Harmonious Expectations for all Intra-Group Intra-Individual Relationships
Participatory Democratic Structure Based on Assumptions of Absolute Equality

Figure 7.4 An Ideological Screen and Organizational Decisions

isolation and a "we-they" perspective of the world. The "we were better than that" attitude illustrated in the saga confirms this phenomena in IAP. Further, IAP's ideology was strongly associated with a mission to impact on education and to improve schools. It is certainly fair to say that IAP was a mission oriented organization. Kanter (1972) recognizes the strong "boundaries" often created by such groups.

> The existance of a strong central purpose, gives focus and meaning to the group, and provides it the means to distinguish clearly desired and undesired members, or desired and undesired behavior. Its mission enables the group to set criteria for making choices, based on whatever will further the mission, and justifies its becoming a closed society (p. 195).

If we add to this propensity to isolation the early euphoric notion of the leaders that they had all the time, money and personnel they needed we can see an even more reduced tendency for the group to look externally for validation of their social reality. Finally as the early external views became increasingly critical, it seems the door to the outside became firmly shut.

Insert Figure 7.5 about here

Thus, we return to the picture of IAP shrouded in a dense fog. But the harsh realities of their existence did intrude on their isolation. Their social reality was forced to change; their ideology was challenged and weakened. The fog dissipated.

The harsh glaring rays of light that penetrated that fog were many and that story is vividly told in the saga. But to recapitulate briefly, the contextual complexities that came to bear on IAP can be organized according to the organizational subsystem they affected.

We see for example the goals and time line of IAP called "unrealistic" and "based on assumptions" by external reviewers. In effect the goals had been "heuristic" by mandate but the organization functioned as an "ad hoc" system (Boguslaw, 1968). In other words, rather than being primarily future oriented and searching for guiding principles as the mandate required, they were forced to deal with events on a day to day basis just to survive.

The formal and informal structure in IAP that had seemed so ideal was ravaged with the multiple and intertwined conflicts treated fully elsewhere in this report. As one participant said retrospectively:

> The place looks ideal. You come into it with idealistic expectations but the real world comes along. The only difference is that at least you talk about it here. (TI, Y5)

Two events demonstrated the extent of the demise in this area. One was the decision to regionalize the project and centralize decision making. Along with this decision went the "myth of participant observation" rhetoric of the newly appointed director. Two, the leadership split within ARC occurred along ideological lines. An observer described it this way.

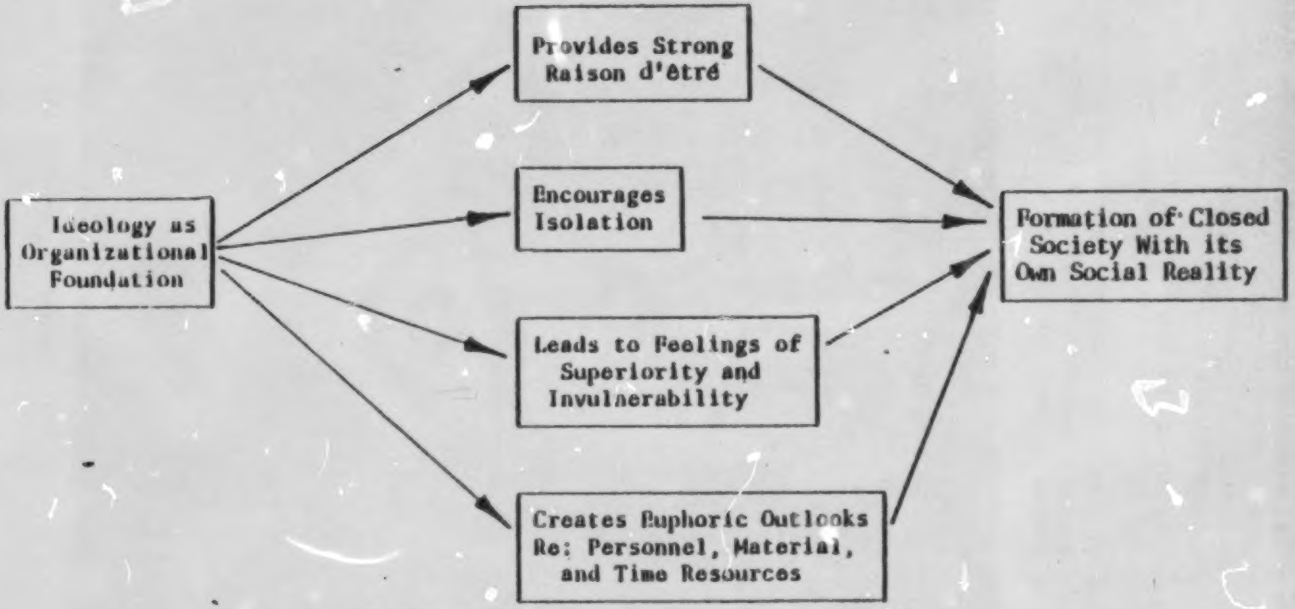
Provides Strong Raison d'être
Encourages Isolation
Ideology as Organizational Foundation
Leads to Feelings of Superiority and Invulnerability
Creates Euphoric Outlooks Re: Personnel, Material, and Time Resources
Formation of Closed Society With its Own Social Reality

Figure 7.5 Ideology Becomes Social Reality

> Randy was growingly of the belief that as FED pressed on IAP the important aspects of ARC were being slighted and its mission was being skewed. He saw Roy, in an effort to comply with FED, wanting to create a much more familiar model of a money-chasing shop with high salaries for people at the top and compliant workers in the ranks, which Randy wasn't willing to let the Center become.
>
> Roy thought that in order to carry out the project which he viewed as the critical piece of the ARC's activity and which he was not willing to give up for any reason, he needed to have effective powers of leadership that were denied him by Randy's being his equal and having a separate and quite distinct ideology....
>
> Randy has a vision of the Center as a very flat organization, poor but honest, doing the work that it chooses for its purposes...
>
> Roy wanted to hire people and pay people in ways that he thought best....He wanted himself to be clearly in charge to carry out the changes he needed to keep the contract. (TI, Y5)

What had begun as a perceived common ideology among the leadership had evolved into the radically different views of organization. As mentioned earlier in the saga, when the split occurred the staff split also; some staff members actually left ARC with the resigned leader.

Just as the idealic goals and structure seemed to backfire, so we see bitter disappointments tied to the technology subsystem. First, the decision to train "culturally sensitive" people to be researchers instead of hiring researchers didn't work as planned. The training and supervision of the site researchers, so desparately needed, simply never occurred to the necessary extent. This led inevitably to such problems as alleged cooptation of the researchers by their settings, data of highly questionable value, and case studies which received devastatingly negative critiques by outside readers. Second, the almost purist belief in grounded theory by ARC ran constantly at odds with the older and more experienced traditions of the GPC group. Their inability to deal with this problem delayed cross site analysis, researcher training and the operationalization of the intended computer system. This last factor is actually the third major disappointment in the technology subsystem. The computer development aspect of the study was in effect abandoned.

Lastly, the environment subsystem never approached the visions of the IAP leaders. The story here is a broader continuation of the conflicts which plagued the organizational structure. Internally and externally perceived issues like racism, sexism, favoritism, suspicion of outsiders, limited time, money and personnel racked the relationships the IAP planners had hoped to build. A participant mused:

> IAP had hoped to change the system but the system changed IAP. (SO, Y5)

This process is summarized in Figure 7.6.

Insert Figure 7.6 about here

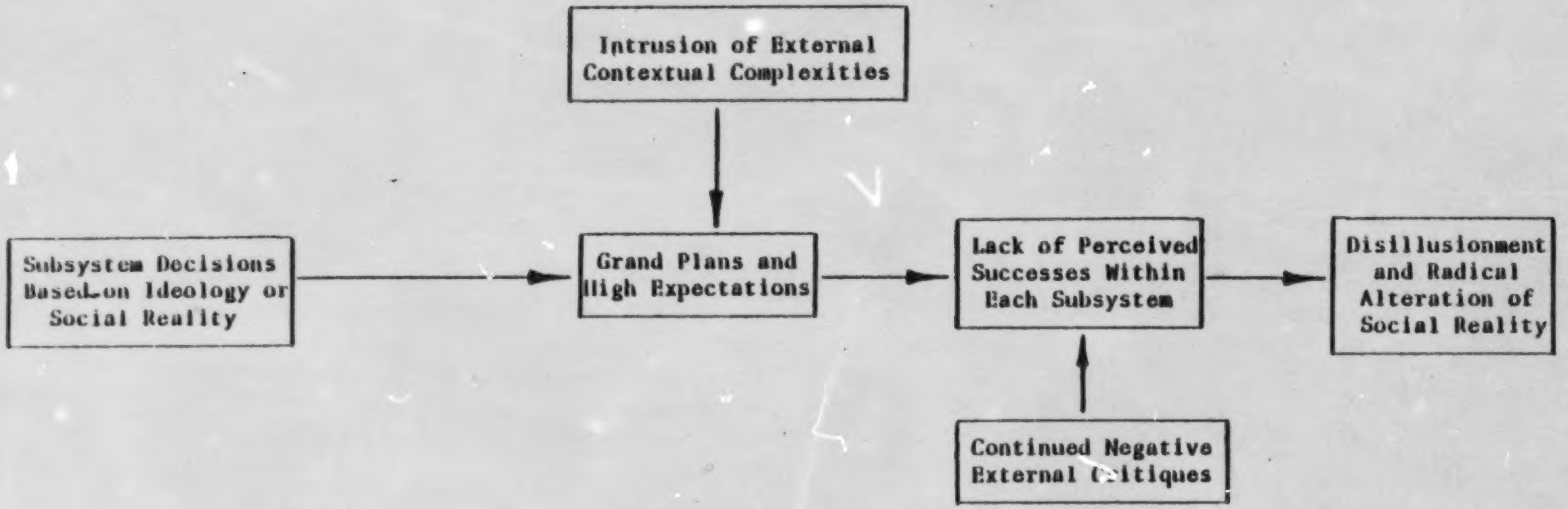
Intrusion of External Contextual Complexities
Subsystem Decisions Based on Ideology or Social Reality
Grand Plans and High Expectations
Lack of Perceived Successes Within Each Subsystem
Disillusionment and Radical Alteration of Social Reality
Continued Negative External Critiques

Figure 7.6 Alteration of Social Reality as Consequence of External Intrusions

4.4 A More Abstract Perspective

We can summarize this chapter by viewing the IAP experience again, but this time in the light of Berger and Luckman's concepts of subjective and objective reality (1967). We feel this offers the most abstract of our interpretations of the contest between ideology and the multiple complexities in the external world of IAP. We feel this view is most easily generalizable to other settings and leads most directly to implications for preventive action in the creation of other settings or projects.

Essentially, the argument maintains that each individual in the IAP story came to the project with their own personal interpretation of the world, their own subjective reality. They turned those individual, personal subjective realities to a common, but unique to the internal IAP, objective reality through continuous interaction with each other. This internal to IAP, objective reality, what we have been calling ideology, ultimately clashed disasterously with a more potent and external to IAP objective reality. The clash of these objective realities, internal and external, came with increased interaction with external critics of the project.

To continue to follow the Berger and Luckman position the major mechanism for the creation and continuous modification of the subjective reality is interaction with "significant others" (p. 150). Persons, who for many reasons might be highly influential to an individual, lie at the very heart of that individual's reality maintenance structure. It is interesting, here to recall from the IAP saga that the core group was essentially a complex array of significant others. Perhaps more simply, each member of the group shared with each other member a very similar perspective or subjective reality and mutual respect for each other's talents and accomplishments. The fact that the IAP core group was made up of essentially significant others combined with the group's tendency to isolate itself leads us to the view that the group created through conversation within itself, its own objective reality. The plausibility of this conclusion is enhanced--again to cite Berger and Luckman:

> Objective reality can readily be "translated" into subjective reality, and vice versa. Language, of course, is the principle vehicle of this ongoing translating process in both directions. (p. 133)

and

> ...language objectifies the world, transforming the _panta rhei_ of experience into cohesive order. In the establishment of this order language _realizes_ a world, in the double sense of apprehending and producing it. Conversation is the actualizing of this realizing efficacy of language in the face-to-face situations of individual existence. (1967, p. 153)

Berger and Luckman record as a "basic fact that subjective reality must stand in a relationship with an objective reality that is socially defined" (p. 149). Further, they say, "what is real 'outside' the individual corresponds to what is real 'within'" the individual and then they add:

> It should, however, be stressed that symmetry between objective and subjective reality cannot be complete. The two realities correspond to each other, but they are not coextensive. There is always more objective reality "available" than is actually internalized in any individual consciousness, simply because the contents of socialization are determined by the social distribution of knowledge [emphasis ours]. (pp. 133-134)

We maintain that because of the strong pressure to form a tightly cohesive and **innovative group, IAP's "social distribution of knowledge" was not an adequate** basis from which to build an effective objective reality. In short, IAP staff viewed the world very differently from the perspectives of those they served and those who would in the end evaluate their efforts.

As the Inquiry and Assistance Project progressed their work and conversations were increasingly opened to the public. Their group processes and beliefs were not an adequate enough "plausibility structure," to use Berger and Luckman's phrase, to sustain their respective individual subjective realities nor the objective reality they had collectively formed. The results of this disparity were visible in the organization's shift in structure, the splitting of the core group, the recanting of certain of the ideological elements and the addition of more "traditional" outsiders hired to complete the mandated tasks.

Insert Figures 7.7 & 7.8 about here

Our conclusion can be stated as a theoretical proposition. As disparity between several objective and individual subjective realities increases, the ability of an individual or group to function successfully in the world decreases. We feel this proposition abstracts one of the major points of this chapter, and more importantly implies action to prevent the recurrence of the multiple disappointments of the IAP experience.

The implied action for creating future projects is, of course, to prevent the internal objective reality of the group from differing greatly from the external objective reality of the group's environment. Several strategies are indicated. First, avoid extreme cohesiveness as it appears to lead to serious problems in the realm of decision-making (Janis, 1972). Second, avoid isolation. It clearly separates a group from a practical view of the world. Third, participative democracy as a decision-making process in a task-oriented group greatly complicates each decision by adding more and more decision makers to each "decision point" (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973, pp. 102-108). It may further prevent habituation or the development of organizational routines which places the organization in an energy-draining state of constant flux as each new event must be considered as a unique crisis (Berger and Luckman, 1967, p. 62). Carefully consider the role of participative democracy in task-oriented organizations. Fourth, above all, carefully consider the degree to which an ideology permeates the decision-making processes of an organization. Ideologies as internal objective social realities encourage the "blind spots" (Smith and Keith, 1971, p. 41) of "true believers" (Hoffer, 1951, p. 10) and

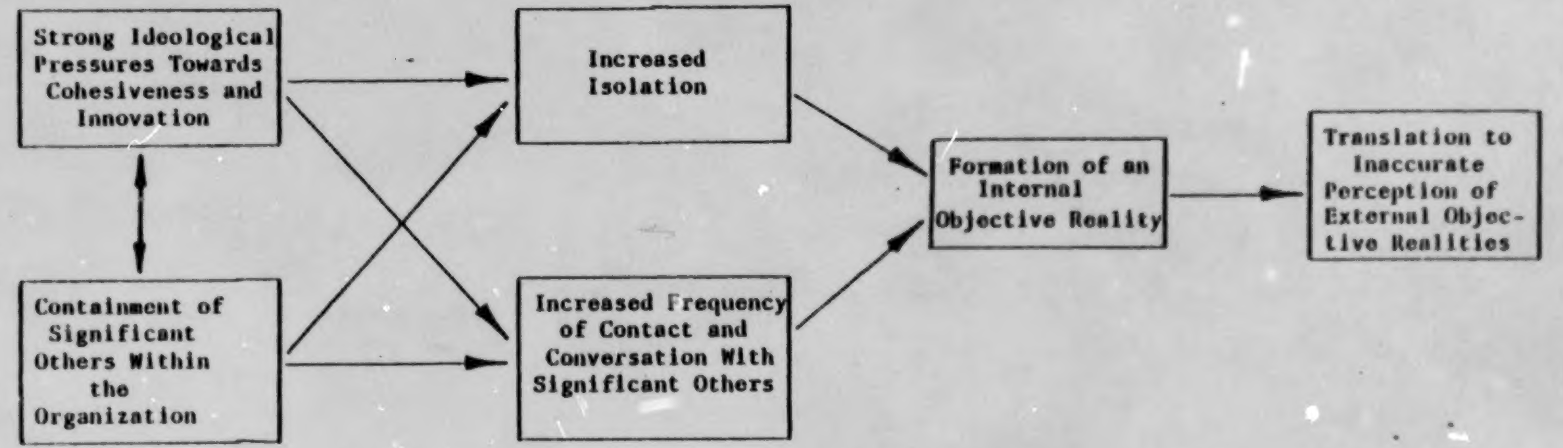
Strong Ideological Pressures Towards Cohesiveness and Innovation
Increased Isolation
Formation of an Internal Objective Reality
Translation to Inaccurate Perception of External Objective Realities
Containment of Significant Others Within the Organization
Increased Frequency of Contact and Conversation With Significant Others

Figure 7.7 Antecedents and Consequences of an Idiosyncratic Objective Reality

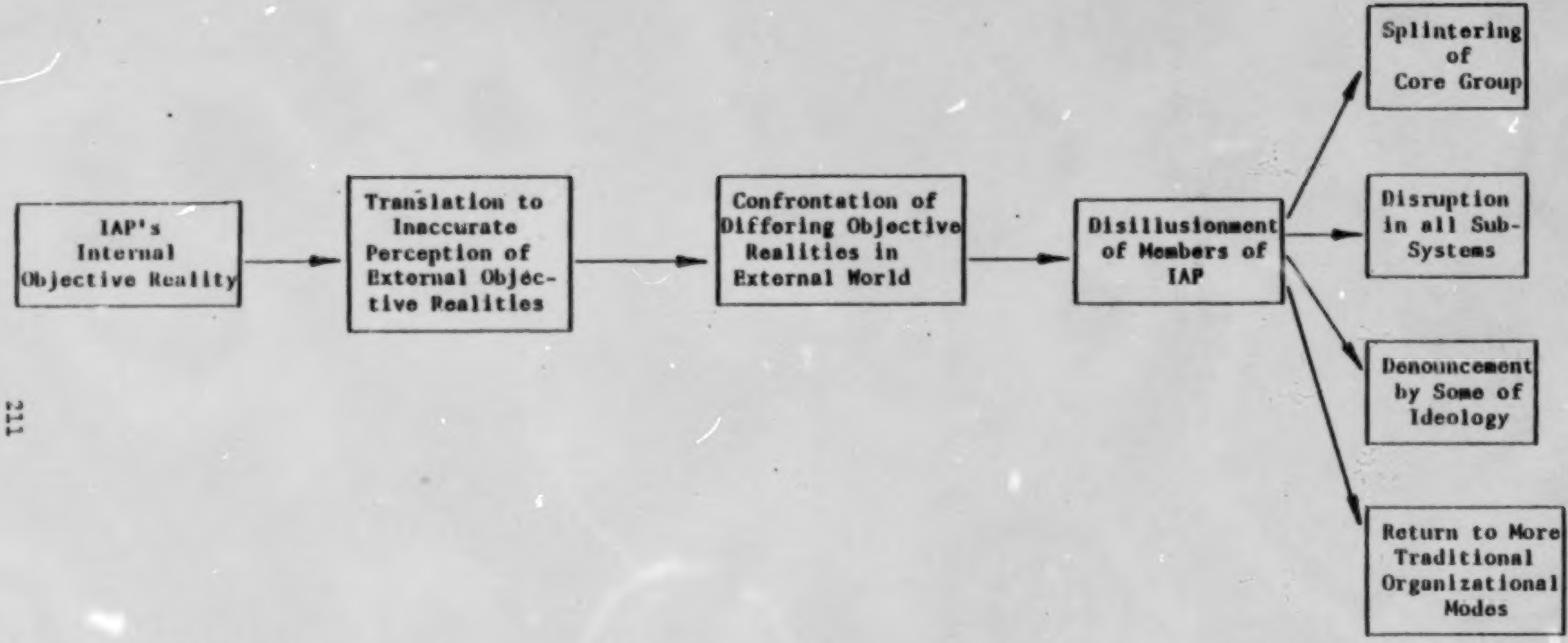
IAP's Internal Objective Reality
Translation to Inaccurate Perception of External Objective Realities
Confrontation of Differing Objective Realities in External World
Disillusionment of Members of IAP
Splintering of Core Group
Disruption in all Sub-Systems
Denouncement by Some of Ideology
Return to More Traditional Organizational Modes

Figure 7.8 Consequences of Inaccurately Perceived External Objective Reality

work to prevent the acquisition of non-believers into an organization. Ideologies will be interpreted as the answer and prevent the serious consideration of a much broader and richer base of knowledge. Lastly, ideologies can turn needs into perceived realities. They may well prevent a group from being honestly able to say, "we don't have an adequate understanding of the situation or the adequate skills to produce the product." We wish to warn the reader that we are not indicating IAP's efforts were groundless, irrational or irresponsible. These implied actions indicate modifications not rejection of the ideas that led to the organizational model that IAP attempted.

To radically reject the IAP organizational model would be a decision to embrace again Weber's classical alternative. That model has its own set of irksome consequences. Weber presents the ideal:

> The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compares with other organizations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production.
>
> Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, discretion, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs--these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic organization.... (Weber, 1958, p. 214)

House (1974) specifies a "production ideology (p. 172) which is consistent with Weber's vision of organization.

> Most [organizations] are concerned with predictability, reliability, accountability, and control. The organization is perceived as a tool of either the owner or the government so there can be only one source of legitimacy.... A "production ideology" develops that leads to central and overspecification of resources.
>
> The "production ideology" specifies that management's interest is in controlling all organizational behavior. The organization is evaluated in terms of how it maximizes formal goals....Surplus satisfaction beyond that needed to induce employee contribution is considered inefficient. All activities must be programmed, and, where activities are entirely programmed, there can be no innovation. (p. 1973)

Thus, the production ideology precludes creativity and innovation. In addition there are well recognized , possibly unintended consequences of Weber's model of bureaucratic organizations. These include alienation, resistance to change, distortion of professional-client relationships, impersonal treatment of public, avoidance of responsibility, minimization of commitment and creation of subgroups (J. G. Anderson, 1968, p. ix).

We have argued ourselves into a tail chasing, seemingly no-win, circle. We must admit sympathy with the IAP vision. As one federal officer said of ARC:

> ...this is not a place that's putting money into paneling and furniture...[it] is sensitive to urban questions, [it is] being sensitive to minority hiring, not ripping off the government.... (TI, Y5)

But under ARC's leadership, IAP was considered by outside evaluators and reviewers to be a failure. Yet the more dominant productivity paradigm discourages innovation and is associated with its own set of dysfunctional organizational consequences. We can only emphasize what should be obvious but is often overlooked, "that implementation, under the best of circumstances, is exceedingly difficult" (Pressman and Wildausky, 1973, p. xiii). Others, Baldridge (1972) for example, offer an approach to organizational management that might well prove to be one way out of the dilemma. The "Political Systems Approach" involves the recognition of the naturalness of sub-group formation and of conflict between them and may well lead to the balanced decision-making process.

In recent years, the reappearance of the phrase "industrial democracy" raises our dilemma in its broadest scope. Wirth (1977, 1978) sees it historically in the troubled history of education and work and the long standing conflict before the John Dewey's on the one side and the Snedden's and Prosser's on the other. Contemporaneously it appears in the recent movements for accountability and management by objectives on the one hand and the more humanistic, experiential, meaningful approaches on the other hand. The integration he's seeking is found in the concept of "socio-technical design" as this is expressed in the Scandinavian industrial experience (Emery and Trist, 1975; Herbst, 1974; and Emery and Thorsrud, 1976). The accent is on both social and technical rather than one or the other. Making that happen remains something of a mystery even after four or five decades of the post Elton Mayo and Kurt Lewin traditions. We will have more to say of that in subsequent chapters.

Finally, perhaps, ARC just needed more time to understand and appreciate its own process. Perhaps, this would have never happened. Perhaps, the outside pressures to produce would have never permitted it. In all this, IAP may have lost sight of their own image through the pink fog. Operationally their scrappiness continued but no one valued the conflict or turned it, as Baldridge would have us do, to productive ends. Near the end of our study we observed a staff meeting at ARC. It exemplified the best of what Baldridge argues for. Each participant in the meeting developed a critical stance to the paper being critiqued and argued hard for his own concept or viewpoint. An interpretive aside commented on the atmosphere:

> The group discusses the topic as each person vigorously pursues their viewpoint. Sometimes they reach agreement, sometimes not. I'm struck throughout by the constructive nature of the discussion and the shared concern for understanding. (FN, Y5)

4.5 Conclusion and Other Points of View

This leads us to a final conclusion--actually it must remain a speculation. Beyond IAP, a group whose mission is associated with change, particularly social change, needs protection and nurturance (House, 1974, pp. 172-175). If a funding agency or policy group is truly seeking change they must be prepared to protect their change agents even against the blistering criticisms that always accompany challenges to the status quo. The agency must be patient, change is never rapid or complete. They must be critical but constructive in their criticism. The extent of an agency's patience and willingness to protect and nurture may well be a measure of their commitment to change. An agency's willingness to make this kind of commitment is one further path out of the earlier described dilemma. This alternative to realligning the subjective realities of individual members and the organization's internal objective reality with the several outside objective and subjective realities may well be impossible, for, in essence, it calls for the outside world to align itself with the realities of IAP's world. This strategy could only be realized through a major shift in societal interests and ethics of the kind addressed by Schumacher (1973) and Oliver (1976). This last option may exist only in the realm of dreams and wishes--or of world wide catastrophes, crises, or crunches as envisioned by Wirth (1977, 1978). Depending on one's viewpoint, FED in its parent-collaborative role with IAP heeded most of the imperatives offered in our conclusion or severely curtailed IAP's ability to carry out its mission by ignoring these principles.

One reaction to our initial draft of *FPA* indicated the latter and characterized a critical letter from the FEDs to IAP as "bureaucratic-idealistic, bullying, and an abstruction to project work, a 'cheap shot.'" (RD, Y6) This comment came from a project reviewer.

Offering a dramatic contrast, a GPC leader reacted:

> Indeed, I think IAP was loosely coupled with the world and that FED *was* (emphasis theirs) protective. It [IAP] came out a mess for other reasons. (RD, Y6)

The following chapters look at more of the "other reasons."

Chapter Eight

The Structure of Activities: Field Inquiry, Consultative Assistance, and Articulation

1. INTRODUCTION

Organizational and group theorists use a variety of labels--activities, tasks, jobs, work, roles, for the things that people in organizations do from day to day, week to week, and year to year. Theorists, practitioners, and researchers speak in turn of task analysis, job analysis and job description as devices for getting at what we will call organizational activities. In turn, each of these tasks or activities can be construed as having various structural dimensions--complexity, status, difficulty, centrality, importance, and so forth. Further, many of the activities in organizations evolve and change over time. And, finally, the tasks are interdependent with each other. They involve sequencing, coordination, schedules, and deadlines. In short, the activities of the organization are an important domain of organizational theory and practice. In the Inquiry and Assistance Project, the major activities were 1) field work inquiry in ten public school systems; 2) consultative assistance in several other school systems; and 3) articulation of the knowledge developed in the ten settings with the consultative assistance provided in the several new settings.

Explaining the origin of the activity structure is very simple; it grew directly out of the RFP circulated by the FEDs. Later it was described in the original contract proposal and in the requested elaborations. Six major tasks were indicated; Figure 8.1 presents them in outline form. Items 1 and 2 refer mainly to the field research component. Items 3 and 4 involve consultative assistance to several schools and a continuing assessment of the process. The later is reflexive and utilizes the same kind of field methods used in Items 1 and 2. The articulation goals are to be met by a consultative relationship with the FEDs, item 5 and, by studying the way knowledge generated in 1 and 2 is carried out in 3 and 4 and 5, that is, through item 6. In effect the RFP specified a highly interdependent set of directives. When the six tasks are placed on a time line through the three phases of the project, the relative emphases are apparent. Field Inquiry tapers off and Consultative Assistance increases in importance. Articulation increases also.

Insert Figure 8.1 about here

1. Field work Inquiry re: urban innovation
2. Multiple setting analysis
3. Consultative Assistance: experimenting using knowledge from inquiry
4. Reflexive evaluation of #3, similar to inquiry in #1
5. Consultation with the FEDs on multiple parts of their program
6. Internal formative evaluation of IAP, a reflexive variant of #1 and #4

Figure 8.1 Scope of Work by Tasks

As the narrative has indicated, and as we will elaborate further here, it is our belief that the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP) never addressed nor resolved a number of issues that its charge directed or implied regarding these central activities or tasks. By issues we mean, points in debate or discussion in which individuals or subgroups might or did take contrary, affirmative or negative positions. We will consider, in turn, issues in field work inquiry, in consultative assistance, and in articulation, the problematics of juxtaposing of inquiry results and practical help or assistance.

2. MULTIPLE ISSUES IN IAP'S INQUIRY PROCESSES

2.1 Introduction

The first and perhaps most important conclusion that we reached was that IAP's "problem" in field research were "multiple complex problems." More latently we argue that our analysis will proceed until the elements are small enough to suggest manipulable actions that might be taken to change an unwanted "is" to a desired "ought to be" in the context of a webbing of values. The nature and size of the elements is arbitrary; the analyst constructs and finds them in terms of his theory and the context of possible alternatives. Later, the items themselves influence the theory and context. We will have more to say about that general process. Figure 8.2 presents a miniature theory of the "Complexity and Difficulty of Field Research in IAP."

Insert Figure 8.2 about here

The major thrust of the analysis here resides in the inventory of determinants of what we have called "limitations in IAP's field work inquiry process." However, for added meaning we have indicated several consequences of major importance to the IAP as an organization. First, considerable delays occurred in finishing the reports. Second, a variety of reviewers saw many of them to be limited in quality--vividness, coherence, creativity, or usability. And thirdly, in turn, these events resulted in serious limitations in the Consultative Assistance part of the IAP effort. Overall, each piece of the IAP system connects with other parts of the system. As difficulties, problems, breakdowns occur these ripple through the system, sometimes with disastrous consequences.

2.2 The Inventory of Determinants

The items in Figure 8.2 require brief explication individually, that is, one by one. In addition, the reader needs to keep in mind the larger context of the project, part of which is provided by the narrative and part of which are the other analytical and interpretive chapters. In a sense we are writing linearly but hopefully in a cumulative and interdependent fashion.

Ambiguities with Field Work Charge

A number of levels and kinds of criticism of the case studies were made by the FED project officers. Many fall under the rubrics of misunderstanding, or at least, differences in understanding of the task, or different conceptions of field work. As one of the FEDs commented,

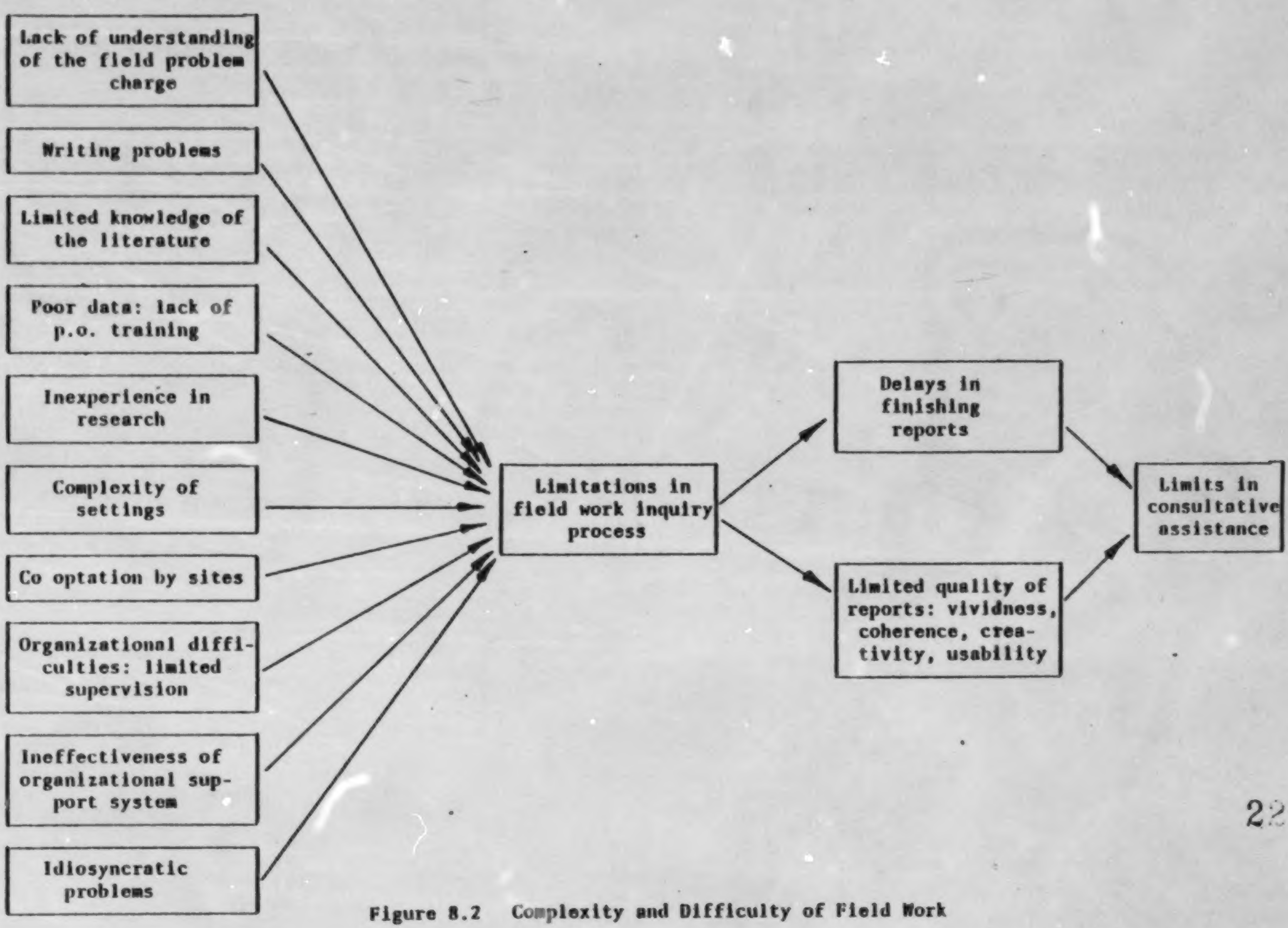
Lack of understanding of the field problem charge
Writing problems
Limited knowledge of the literature
Poor data: lack of p.o. training
Inexperience in research
Complexity of settings
Co optation by sites
Organizational difficulties: limited supervision
Ineffectiveness of organizational support system
Idiosyncratic problems
Limitations in field work inquiry process
Delays in finishing reports
Limited quality of reports: vividness, coherence, creativity, usability
Limits in consultative assistance

Figure 8.2 Complexity and Difficulty of Field Work

> Let me see what I can do. There's a lot of context in the site that's extremely important which was left out of, substantially left out of the draft case study of this project which I saw. The administrator had been there for at least three years before we came on the scene. He had put together an incredible package of federal programs. Virtually any federal education program you can think of they had money for. At one time, okay so, there had been a phase of activity which a lot of that was concentrated in what is called target schools, schools that were particularly troubled. It was that focus and there was also kind of a sixties spirit and there was a great deal of careful thinking. That was before we came on the scene. (TI/YS)

In his views, this was important and it had been omitted. After five or ten minutes of elaboration on administrator strategies and tactics in the site innovation, on the broader community participation and involvement issues, and on the particular circumstances of race, segregation and integration, the interview continued.

> OBS: Okay and let me break in with one quick question. This kind of contextual set of events that you've been talking, and I have not seen the case study at this point, the draft you saw had a minimal amount of this kind of stuff?
>
> FED: I didn't see a lot in there. I could say a lot more about all of that; it may have as much as I've told you now. There really wasn't much focus on that context. And the reason I'm saying that is this--my perception of the case study, the original case study, was that it was precisely what we said repeatedly we didn't want, which is an evaluation. He took the proposal and what some of the people involved in implementing the proposal said were their goals and he tried to determine the extent to which they were involved. (TI/YS)

In this instance the case study was perceived to be in a classical evaluation mode and resulted from misunderstandings of the spirit and letter of the contract. At other points in the narrative and analysis other incidents of different understandings occur.

Complicated and Difficult Settings

One does not have to read very far into the reports from the research sites to realize the complications of the field settings and the difficulties that this posed for field workers. The settings would have challenged the most experienced field worker. A brief listing of some of these elements appears in Figure 8.3. Urban schools are complex, varied, political, educational systems. Innovative projects within them are part and parcel of this complexity. Making one's way into these settings, even if there is a preliminary

---

Insert Figure 8.3 about here

---

1. Projects are a small part of complex large city school systems (which have their own large problems)
2. Many projects have long complicated evolving histories from before IAP's involvement
3. Multiple groups involved: racially, ethnically, economically, politically
4. Frequently high conflict among groups in the settings
5. Often latent agendas of groups in setting
6. Resolutions are often zero sum--you win, I lose
7. Stakes are high--termination of jobs, careers, programs, schools
8. Many with large resources and large sums of money to be spent
9. All have some federal money

Figure 8.3 Elements of Difficulties in Field Sites

racial or ethnic congruency, is not the place to begin one's experience in field work. In addition, many of the field workers were alone in their communities. All of the supervision (with the exception of Eastern City) was done at a distance of a few hundred to a thousand miles. The supervisory structure was complicated, inexperienced, and evolving as well.

Co-optation of Field Workers

Some years ago, in a friendly bull session with a group of field researchers all of whom were studying contemporary educational systems and all of whom were involved in a consulting and helping role, one of the group cut through a tangle of interpretations with a "Jonsey--you're screwing the natives, you're co-opted, you've lost your detachment." In less graphic terms, and in the context of a discussion of field work ethics, the same point arose in IAP. One member's notes at the time stated it this way.

> Wednesday a.m. we started in on discussing the ethics issues. One had many ethical concerns. Among them were
>
> 1. Control of data--the setting feels they have access to field notes
> 2. More loyalty to the site than to IAP
> 3. IAP has unlimited access to the site but IAP is not giving the ten settings anything
>
> He articulated these concerns and was joined by other field researchers who had similar concerns. (PD/Y2)

Later as the "setting innovations" worked themselves out and the field researchers became involved and identified with their sites, the co-optation process took on other dynamics--eventuating in significant implications for the field researcher's status in IAP as an organization. A miniature theory is presented in Figure 8.4. The elements contain both "pushes" from IAP, e.g., the field researchers categorized by some as "field hands" with all the racial, class, and economic implications of such a label, and some "pulls," e.g., social acceptance as peer, equal, and human being at some of the sites.

Insert Figure 8.4 about here

Multiple Levels of Inexperience

Most outsiders do not appreciate the complexities and difficulties of ethnographic field work. Similarly, many creative young field workers, who have learned to do field work, seemingly easily and naturally, as some do, do not appreciate the problems and difficulties in training a random group of bright (graduate level) educationists (teachers, administrators, supervisors) to carry out such inquiry. Our data suggest that IAP fell in to these misunderstandings--all down the line. The staff in the Federal Education Department, while enthused about and supportive of field work and its potential, had themselves done little field inquiry and monograph publication. The group at

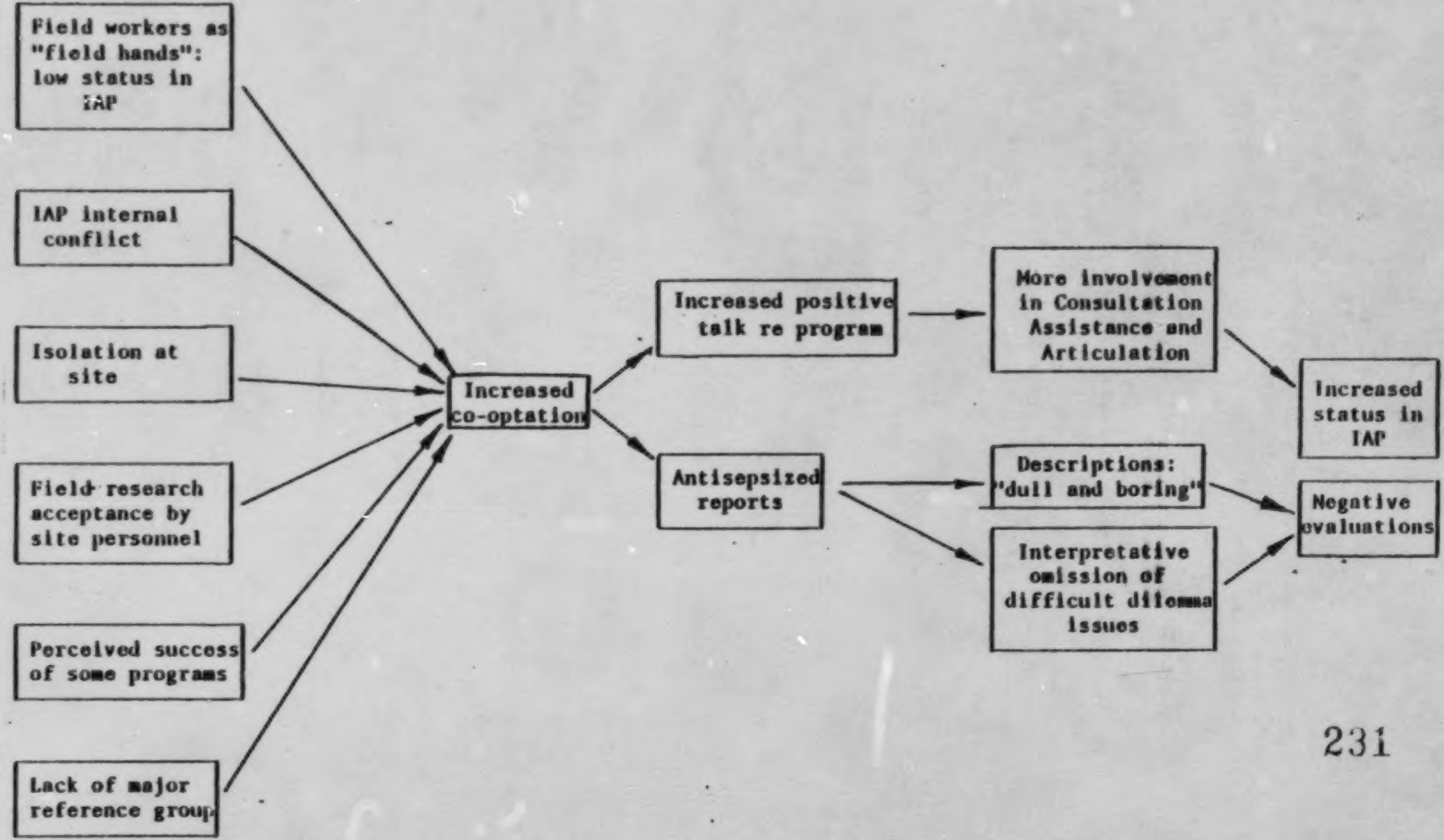
Field workers as "field hands": low status in IAP
IAP internal conflict
Isolation at site
Field research acceptance by site personnel
Perceived success of some programs
Lack of major reference group
Increased co-optation
Increased positive talk re program
Antisepsized reports
More involvement in Consultation Assistance and Articulation
Descriptions: "dull and boring"
Interpretative omission of difficult dilemma issues
Increased status in IAP
Negative evaluations

Figure 8.4 Miniature Theory of Co-optation of Field Researchers

the Applied Research Center were a mix of supportive leaders and "naturals," but were both young and relatively inexperienced in training others and in supervising others. The staff at GPC, the Group Process Center, were highly experienced action researchers, theoreticians and practitioners, but not ethnographically oriented field workers. The GPC style, in spite of some major similarities, did not mix well procedurally with the ethnographic field work style.

At various times and places during the Inquiry and Assistance Project, poignant comments about inexperience were made by individuals who were filling middle level management and supervision positions. After an early training session, one supervisor reflected,

> I enjoyed the session on methodology tremendously. I really need the opportunity to experience the field research role for, at least six months. This is the kind of experience that would aid in my development as a supervisor. Rich, this is a public cry for HELP. (PD, Y2)

In addition to inexperience, the comment reflects another major interpretive point--the mismatch of persons and organizational positions. The movement of insightful field workers into administrative positions occurred. Also at the middle management level, the inexperience with both large R & D projects and the realities of participatory democracy arose in reflections on one of the early meetings of IAP staff.

> We had worked carefully to design a system for field researchers to participate in the analytic development of IAP and also in planning. I was surprised and hurt the first day of the workshop when they asked for more time to caucus without the supervisors. I couldn't understand why they didn't want us and why they didn't recognize the adequacy of the pathways of influence that we had built in....
>
> I had never been on this side of the fence before. I couldn't understand why anyone would feel the need to 'organize against me.' My identification was more with the role of field researcher than anything else. I was frustrated with their failure to see the large picture.... (PD/Y2)

Inexperience, or limited experience is a concept we will be returning to again and again. As simple a point as it is, it is one of our major analytic interpretations regarding IAP.

In coping with the multitude of supervisory problems a flow of middle eschelon people, at least five were involved in Years 4 and 5, arrived and departed. From the field researcher's point of view each change in personnel changed the demands upon them and their products, the case studies.

Attempts at Field Worker Training

The field researcher problem of inexperience, limited training, and undeveloped skills were recognized early and late in the project. Attempts in the form of workshops and consultancies were undertaken. This kind of teaching is difficult and some "experts" run into trouble making the hoped for progress. In a post training set of notes these reactions were expressed:

> Professor A discussed his previous research. The discussion was interesting but really did not speak to the nitty-gritty issues of method that the Field Researchers needed to know. In fact, he asked for questions at the beginning and then said he was going to take his academic preogative to disregard the questions. At the end of his session he told everyone that his discussion didn't pertain to what they were doing because they weren't doing "real ethnography."
>
> I think we goofed in using him for that session. We could have spent the time much more productively answering the Field Researcher questions. (Of course, if the time was not committed to him, I suspect we would have gotten directly into role and ethics questions and never discussed method questions....)
>
> Maybe we didn't orient him well? I am not quite sure what to do about training. My tendency is to have faith in people's ability to learn what they need to learn. I am worried that the workshop did not give anyone the ability to assess Field Researcher strengths and wesknesses nor did it give us the chance to work on developing needed skills. Furthermore, IAP doesn't seem to have enough resources to provide assistance supervision or training in the field. I won't really know what kind of needs we have until the data starts flowing in. I hope to address some of the Field Researcher questions on method, but there doesn't seem to be enough time with all the other things we have to do. (PD/Y2)

The last paragraph contains a strong belief within project ideology, "faith in..." It contains a concern for organization resources and structure, "IAP doesn't seem to have...." And it accents again the issues of supervisory inexperience, "I won't really know...." All of these were critical in IAP's evolution. They expand incredibly the nature of the problems in "field worker training."

Data Management System

One of the most exciting ideas in the IAP project was its plan for computerizing storage and retrieval of qualitative field notes. An early training session for Field Researchers raised some of the problems in the use of the computerized system.

> The session we had on observation--coding was very useful. I think "real time" experiences are the most fruitful. The data was alive. Again, we needed a lot more time to discuss and digest what went on. I'm afraid the session may have raised more questions than it answered. I was surprised that some of the Field Researchers didn't understand that the data bits were real text not just reduced to numbers.
>
> The coding session highlighted for me, the problem of coding ethnographic data. For example, the Task 3 group talked about plans for the initial user schools. Two elements of their plan were: (1) they would work with school-community units and (2) they would work as a team combining people from both ARC and GPC. In our coding scheme there are differences in school and community category under which it would be stored and retrieved...

> My understanding of IAP, however, tells me that each of those elements are important on their own--not merely as examples of planning. Someone trying to understand IAP and its process might want to trace the development leading up to those decisions and the implications as they are implemented. Our coding system does not easily allow for the importance and retrievability of grounded concepts such as these. We'll have to watch as the coding and retrieval gets into high gear. (PD/Y2)

The coding and retrieval system never did get into high gear. It was the basis of early conflict between individuals from the Applied Research Center and the Group Process Center. It consumed inordinate amounts of time and resources from central staff, from supervisors, and from field workers. The experience from a prior project, on which it was dependent, had not been completed. The computer system remained an important dilemma for management--when or should a major creative idea of the original proposal be eliminated.

In a large sense, the computer system added one more significant increment to the larger set of items which were new and novel in IAP. The flavor of this appears in an IAP Document, a full year into the project when a major part of the field work was already completed.

> We are currently engaged in the pilot use of a complex coding and computer handling system, and will be making judgments in the spring of Year 3 about its utility. Questions that must be answered at that time include, (1) can written field notes be meaningful without the benefit of the collectors' interpretations? (2) is the coding process consistent enough to be useful in retrieving data? (3) does analysis require more select data than the computer system allows?
>
> We think that this exploratory work in computer utilization of qualitative data will be an important contribution in itself to the methodology of developing information that is useful to practitioners through research. (PD/Y3)

The point we are making is that incredible amounts of field worker time were spent in recording and coding field data onto forms amenable to storage and that the case studies of the settings, much of the supervision by the first and second level supervisors, much of the cross setting analysis and finally, the consultative assistance was locked into, that is heavily dependent upon an untried set of procedures. If that link created problems, and it in fact did, then a large chunk of IAP activities would be in trouble. Handling those troubles would take further amounts of supervisory and administrative time and consume large amounts of resources. In point of fact, these consequences did occur.

Not Knowing the Intellectual Territory: the Literature

In an early essay on creativity, Wilson (1958) distinguishes between what is new to an individual child in school and what is new to his/her teacher or to the society at large. The individual can be creative and experience creativity about matters that the larger society already has clear understanding.

In education, several societies or groups exist--the IAP staff, each of the local schools within which the project, invisible colleges clustered around methodologies or substantive issues, and formal groups--NEA, AFT, AASA, AERA, and sister disciplines, AAA, ASA, APA and so forth. Within societies and their journals is a vast domain of public knowledge, "the literature." Creativity can exist in these multiple domains, if not levels. When an individual field worker does not have in his head, or when the organization does not have in its memory a host of these ideas, concepts, theories, perspectives, then it becomes exceedingly difficult to build something new into this knowledge pool. One doesn't have the foreshadowed problems to guide or the competing theories to be falsified or concatenated. In some instances, a clear conception of theory per se did not exist.

Obviously, another extreme is possible, the filling out, padding of bibliographies, and the correlated name dropping, seem a combined appeal for authority and status. Such academic trappings have their own kind of evils and have produced their own stereotypes. The truth lurking within however, is a conception of a community of educators (investigators, practitioners and theorists) who are working together, in the best sense of that term, to build better schooling for young people in cities across the country. Knowing their work, elaborating on it creatively as ideas, as practices, and ideas-in-practice, begins to argue some of our biases.

Ever since reading Webb et al's book on *Unobtrusive Measures*, we have been fascinated by its many links to participant observation research. At the broadest level the phenotypic/genotypic distinction comes to mind or the search through the mundane particulars to the latent and unanticipated functions and dysfunctions. Here, the point is much simpler; Are there simple unobtrusive reactive instances if not measures which capture a major significant theoretical point. In reading a *final* version of one of the cases, a glance at the bibliography, as a short cut to where the researcher's theoretical head was at revealed *no* references to any source outside the actors in the setting. To make a creative contribution to a domain of knowledge is difficult in any piece of research; to make that contribution independent of the variety of current debates is significantly more difficult. We prepared Figure 8.5 to sketch the generality of the problem within the IAP case studies.[1]

Insert Figure 8.5 about here

As we have argued elsewhere (Smith, 1979), considerable disagreement exists among field workers as to when such knowledge should enter in. Classically, Malinowski (1922) has argued for "good training in theory" before one goes to the field. At the other extreme some ethnographers, e.g., Wolcott (1967), argue for minimal theorizing. Our own stance has been traditionally for a middle

---

[1] Later analysis suggests that this is a much more complicated issue, as we pursued referencing in other case study projects.

	Eight of the Case Studies							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Total References	35	19	9	63	12	9	2	27
2. Site References	34	11	4	12	18	3	1	15
3. Other IAP References	1	4	4	5	1	0		1
4. Outsider Reference	0	3	1	46	1	6	1	11

Figure 8.5 Available Case Studies: Reference and Bibliography Patterns

ground--a general view of the theoretical territory but not detailed enough to spoil the freshness of one's own initial perceptions and analyses. Later, one engages in a major attempt, as one approaches the final writeup, to expand the analyses with further theoretical inputs and to critique the available literature from the standpoint of one's case.

IAP tried to remedy this with consultants, workshops, and staff meetings. In our view, the problem is as basic as a liberal education and an intensive specialized Ph.D. program. In the world of educational change, Sarason (1972), **House (1974), Miles (1964), Bennis, Benne and Chin (1969), Schmuck et al (1977)** were not acquaintances of most of the field research staff, nor of significant portions of the consultative assistance staff. In addition, the theory of field methodology--Becker (1970), Bruyn (1966), Denzin (1970), Glaser and Strauss (1967), McCall and Simmons (1969), and Diesing (1972) were not widely known.

Self Confidence

Self-confidence, that state or feeling of adequacy and sureness, is one of those personality variables which lay persons recognize in themselves and others but which psychologists have had great difficulties in pinning down carefully. Sometimes it refers to a general personality disposition, sometimes to a more specific reaction. Sometimes it is a stable, enduring disposition and sometimes a momentary mood state. Sometimes it is an internal perspective open only to one's own perception and self report and sometimes it is highly evidenced in overt behavior and easily accessible to public view. Our use is that of a more momentary and specific context bound internal reaction expressed by individuals in a moment of self revelation. We encountered it a number of times among the staff--researchers, analysts, and helpers. The analysis in Figure 8.6 grew out of a lengthy discussion of a particular piece of field work with one of the staff. We think it generalizes more widely in the organization. If the self-confidence dimension, on its low end, resembles anxiety, which we believe it does, some of the consequences might well be extended to an array of defense mechanisms--rationalization, projection, displacement which appeared in a number of our interviews. The major antecedents were a variety of inexperience, an expressed need for senior colleagues, and little time, opportunity, and inclination for involvement in the ideas of one's colleagues more generally, that is in the relevant literature. The consequences were a kind of expressiveness in the writing--apologetic, tentative, and vague.

Insert Figure 8.6 about here

Writing Case Study Reports

No issue in IAP was more entangled in emotion, stereotypes, conflict, status, and evaluation than "the writing problem." We deal with many of those larger issues elsewhere; here we speak briefly to our observations of several problems in written reports. At a minimum, there were several kinds of reports: scientific documents and action documents, internal documents, external documents, and some that, unfortunately tried to fill multiple needs. Within the "scientific documents," the writing problems included major but simple problems

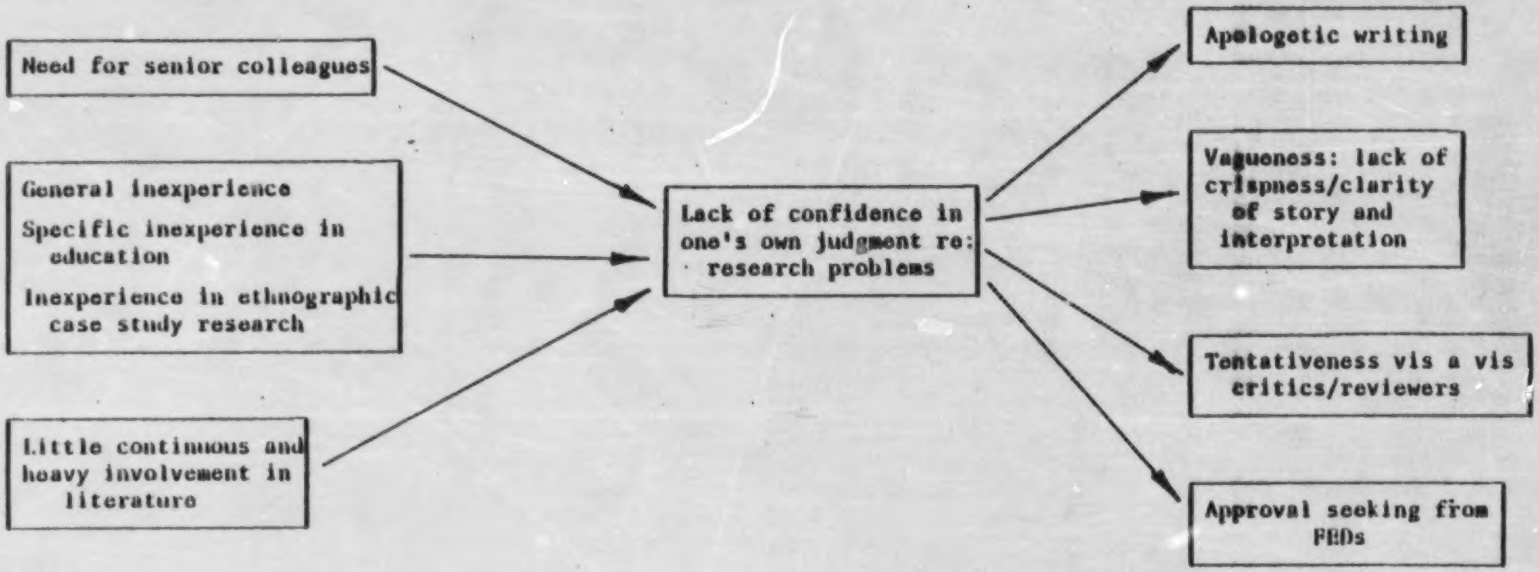
Need for senior colleagues
General inexperience
Specific inexperience in education
Inexperience in ethnographic case study research
Little continuous and heavy involvement in literature
Lack of confidence in one's own judgment re: research problems
Apologetic writing
Vagueness: lack of crispness/clarity of story and interpretation
Tentativeness vis a vis critics/reviewers
Approval seeking from FEDs

Figure 8.6 Confidence in Field Work: Problem Definition, Data Collection, Analysis and Interpretation

in omissions of methodology sections and bibliographic references. In part this occurred because documents were released "too early," as we have discussed elsewhere. In part though, there was lack of appreciation of Becker's (1970) point that explicit statement of concrete research procedures is an alternative for standardization.

> Rather than insisting on mechanical procedures that minimize human judgment, we can try to make the basis of these judgments as explicit as possible so that others may arrive at their own conclusions. (1970, p. 5)

Trying to find out how many days were spent in which cluster of settings, how many interviews of what kinds, with which group of participants, how many and what kind of documents have been collected was a problem for reviewers of the research documents. In a sense, these items are among the simplist and most basic elements of field research. In another sense they represent some of the most sophisticated problems in the communication and utilization of scientific knowledge, one of the broader goals of IAP.

Releasing Papers Too Quickly

Most of the discussions one sees on early publication of findings of scientific research relates to priority in claims in ideas. Another dimension of releasing papers early is that any piece of written work takes on a life of its own, and that life is often one of unanticipated dysfunctions. One such story, related by an author/investigator in IAP was on an early draft of a paper which circulated to a central IAP administrator who, in turn, sent it to one of the civil servants in the Federal Education Department. Later, the author found himself criticized by the federal official rather than supported as he had anticipated. The interaction was capsuled by anguish and exasperation with the paper "thrown by the FED over his shoulder." At the end of the story, to our interview comment, "just another lousey IAP paper?" the author ruefully nodded in agreement. Our analysis is in Figure 8.7.

Insert Figure 8.7 about here

In our own work, after having been burned a time or two in similar fashion, we have opted for the disagreeable alternative of taking the heat and criticism for being overdue and late rather than being on time with a product which is less than adequate in our own eyes, much less anyone elses. This lateness becomes an extremely difficult personal problem, that is, it clogs other aspects of one's plans and work load. In an organization which has a high degree of task interdependency it becomes devastatingly critical. In IAP, as we have noted, the consultative assistance work was planned to be sequentially dependent on the field work results. The size of the organization, the rapid expansion, the geographical dispersion enhanced these problems. The need for release of papers left IAP with an almost impossible dilemma.

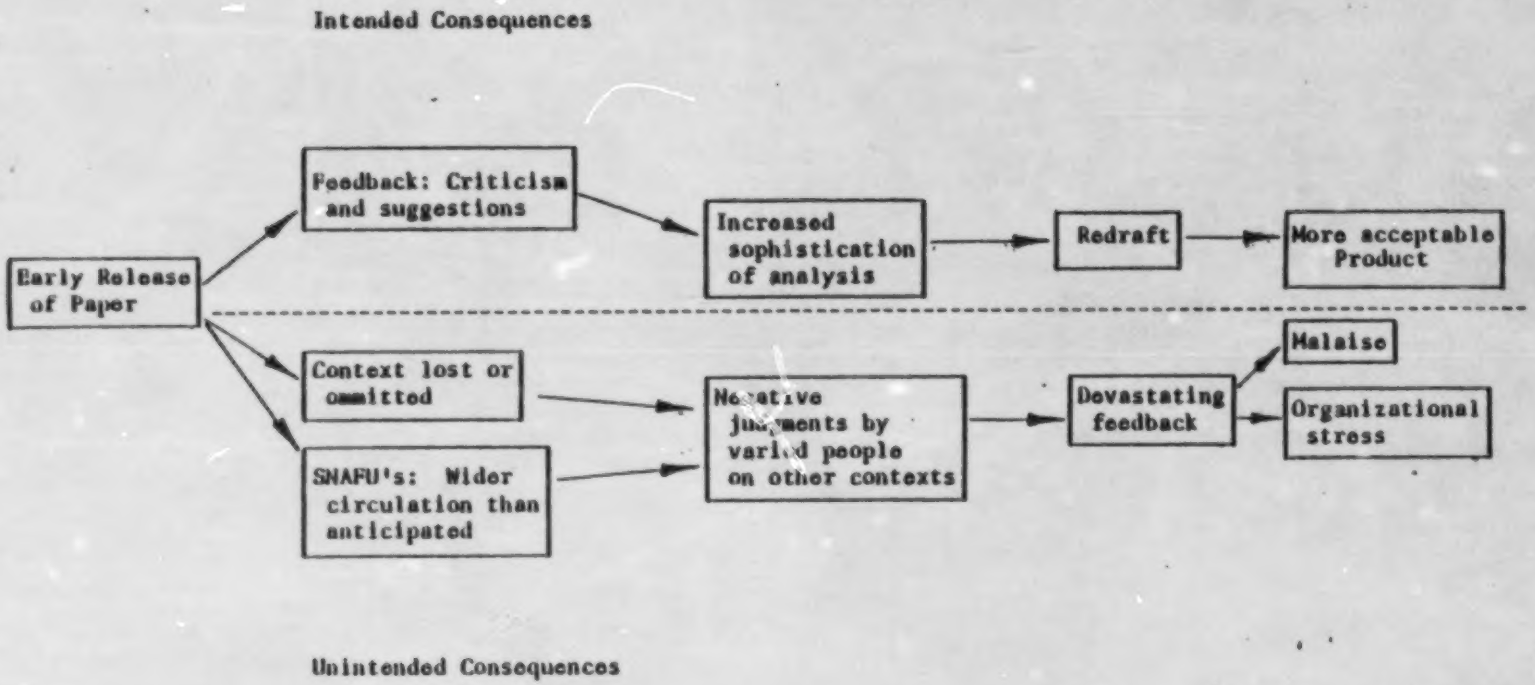
Intended Consequences
Early Release of Paper
Feedback: Criticism and suggestions
Increased sophistication of analysis
Redraft
More acceptable Product
Context lost or ommitted
SNAFU's: Wider circulation than anticipated
Negative judgments by varied people on other contexts
Devastating feedback
Malaise
Organizational stress
Unintended Consequences

Figure 8.7 Consequences of the Early Release of Papers

Time Pressures

Throughout IAP one of the most consistent and ever-present issues involved the misestimation of time to carry out its activities.[2] Nowhere was this more critical than in the field research. It occurred early and it continued on into the waning days of the project. Witness the following statement which accompanied an initial draft of a research report.

> Writing this has been both enjoyable and frustrating. The frustration comes mostly from time pressures. If we can find the time we will do a lot more with the paper. (PD/YS)

The "lot more" included these items,

> While we are not interested in presenting all the data for our conclusions, we need to weave a good bit more in. That has been done hardly at all in this draft. (PD/YS)

and,

> We need to weave in a lot more of the literature, especially that dealing with projects like IAP. There is a bunch we just haven't gotten into much of it. Any citations would be helpful. (PD/YS)

In our view, and the interviewee's, those are not small tasks. In addition, the paper writer had less than two weeks of allocated time to make revisions. More importantly, these enter the theoretical heart of IAP--articulation, the interrelating of field based knowledge and consultative assistance. IAP's problems here were both practical and theoretical.

Summary

Doing field work, for all its surface simplicity, is a complicated social science art form. The open-ended mandate from the FEDs and the complexity of the urban public school settings demanded a kind of experience and sophistication which most of the IAP staff did not have. Hiring decisions often were guided by congruency between field workers' racial and ethnic backgrounds and project ideology rather than field work experience. Supervisory and training attempts, for a number of reasons, fell far short of what was needed. What was required often was the magnitude of a Ph.D. training program and several years' experience as a case study field researcher. At the end of the project, our impression was that a number of the staff were now ready to begin. The organization of the project--it's geographical spread, complicated administrative procedures, and too busy supervisors left a number of the field workers open for co-optation by the projects. All these events contributed to reports which were late and without enough vitality or potency to be used in the next phases of the project. In turn, this contributed to the negative evaluation of the project by outside reviewers.

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[2] Even as we are doing the final revisions of these comments, we find ourselves hoisted on the same petard. We, too, are running several weeks late.

3. CONSULTATIVE ASSISTANCE

3.1 Introduction

At the "February Meeting" (of Year Three), after a particularly vigorous interchange, which was only one of a series of such exchanges at the meeting, one advisor (Smith)* recorded his reflections in a way crucial for the analysis of the consultative assistance task of IAP. It provides an introduction to our concerns.

> In one of the discussions, mostly a lively interchange between Larry who was telling us about South Western City and Sara who was trying to pin him down on particulars, a question occurred to me--What controls Larry Masters' actions when he's doing consultative assistance work in Western City? A series of possibilities ran through my head.
>
> 1. His earlier work with the Kurt Lewin people and tradition
> 2. His background in social psychology
> 3. His years of Group Process consulting
> 4. His multiple research projects
> 5. The codification of experiences that appears in his articles and monographs; and maybe
> 6. Something he's learned from the ten IAP settings
>
> This I found to be a bit discouraging. It routes me back to the earlier discussion of the kind of information stored in the IAP system.
>
> Such reflection also raised the possibilities of CA's with less experience and background and suggested more potency of IAP data for them. That would be an interesting hypothesis for the Formative Evaluation Group to look at.
>
> Similarly such thinking poses a possible alternative to the cross setting foci position. Can the field researchers (and/or the research coordinators, and/or the inquiry task leader and/or the project directors) focus on "important lessons learned from my project" and tell us things we, as CAs, didn't know before but which might be useful. As I write this, what's gradually coming out is an "idiosyncratic to a site foci" list. Maybe it's a later task to analyze the several dozen from each site into a hierarchically and causally arranged set of cross setting foci? Or maybe that's a special responsibility of the research coordinators? (PD,Y/3)

Further complications appear in the speculations of another observer of IAP, some six months later.

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*One of the readers of our first draft indicated that our earlier participation needed to be a matter of record. In effect, when we quote ourselves we let the reader know.

> In addition to these generally held ideas, I thought many of IAP's problems were exacerbated by tensions and contradictions in its mission. One of these was the peculiar relationship created by doing Inquiry first but then starting Consultative Assistance before Inquiry was half done. Another was created by the ethos of the project: it was to find out how to solve problems (moving from Inquiry to CA) rather than finding out if this worked. This placed a low emphasis on learning about problems and a high emphasis on learning about success--this in a project and an area of practice where failures and problems were bound to vastly outnumber successes. (PD, Y/3)

Concretely, IAP's consultative assistance efforts were concentrated in two urban school systems--Central City and Southwestern City. Theoretically and operationally they represented quite different thrusts, consequently, we develop the stories and interpretations separately.

3.2 The Central City Group's Cultural Continuity Project

The Rationale and Some Interpretive Comments

Central City's "Cultural Continuity Project," as with all of IAP, had visionary goals and hopes and had difficulties in attaining those ideals. In our view it was latently a revolutionary strategy; manifestly it never quite expressed itself that way. Operationally it became entangled in the flux of the Central City Public Schools, its own newness and inexperience, its own internal conflict and interpersonal squabbles of multiple sorts, and its lack of relationship to most of the inquiry work done at the ten urban settings.

If we were to cast the effort in the broadest and most favorable light, the project had a flavor reminiscent of Trinity, Leon Uris' fictional account of Ireland at the turn of the century. In a moving passage he speaks of the Irish republicans' attempt to establish a national theater.

> In those throbbing days the inner core of the revival was declared in a manifesto...
>
> > 'We propose to have performed in Dublin, in the spring of every year certain Celtic and Irish plays, which, whatever be their degree of excellence, will be written with high ambition and so build up a Celtic and Irish school of dramatic literature....We will shout that Ireland is not the home of buffoonery and easy sentiment, as it has been represented, but the home of an ancient idealism. We are confident of the support of all Irish people, who are weary of misrepresentation, in carrying out a work that is outside all the political questions that divide us.'
>
> And so our national theater was born, Irishmen doing what was best in them, giving us a prideful and powerful spokesman. (1967, p. 468)

The development of black racial identity and pride was very much in the forefront of the work of Beatrice Maze and her group.

The actual phrasing of this in one of the IAP documents built upon the work of Diop (1974), Mbiti (1970) and especially Nobles (1977, 1974).

> To develop patterns of innovation for urban schools that are effective we must overcome the imposition of the dominant upon the minority culture so that programs can be built on the strengths of students and parents served by the schools. Black people must design, implement and control those institutions which control the minds of black children; positive concepts of the child's racial identity and self concept must be developed and the child must be politicized to understand the socio-political-historical struggle of black people throughout the world. The intent is to educate a racially proud, self sufficient, analytically thinking and academically skilled person committed to black people. (PD/Y4)

In the attack upon racial deprivation theories and in the building of a perspective which accents the cultural strengths of black culture the point of view draws further upon a position developed by Nobles (1974), a comparative schematic contrasting European and African world views at three levels of abstraction--ethos, values and customs, and psycho-behavioral modalities. Figure 8.8 originally from Nobles is cited in a program document.

Insert Figure 8.8 about here

Within IAP, considerable friction existed between the Cultural Continuity Project with its black emphasis and other minorities--Hispanic/Puerto Rican, Hispanic/Mexican, third world/Indian and other political, religious and economic groups. Activists in the women's movement differed as well. In part, these divisions were paralleled by divisions between more anthropologically trained staff with strong interests, background and training in multiple cultures of the world.

In many of the discussions and interviews, references were made to the extended family as an exemplar of communality, cooperation and collective responsibility. In our view the breadth of effort in the school's role in building a multi-cultural society seems to be even broader and more general than implied in the African World View. For instance, New Zealand's Department of Education has recently published the Johnson report, Growing, Sharing, Learning (1977). An issue of Delta, the journal of Massey University's Education Department contains a critical analysis of the document. For our purposes here Johnson (1978), the committee chairman diagrammed the "core values at heart of school" where the "School [is] seen as our extended family." His diagram is reproduced as Figure 8.9.

Insert Figure 8.9 about here

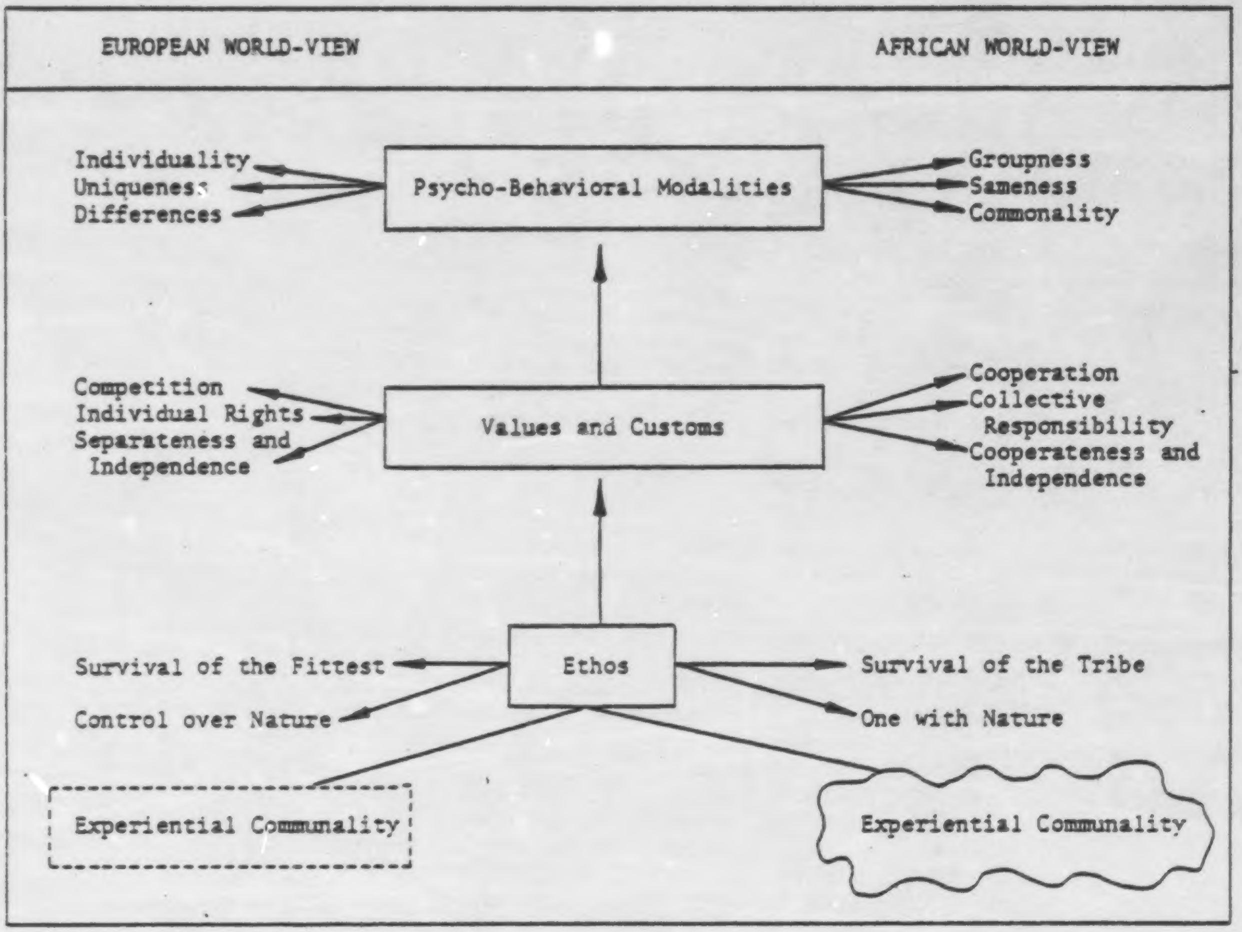
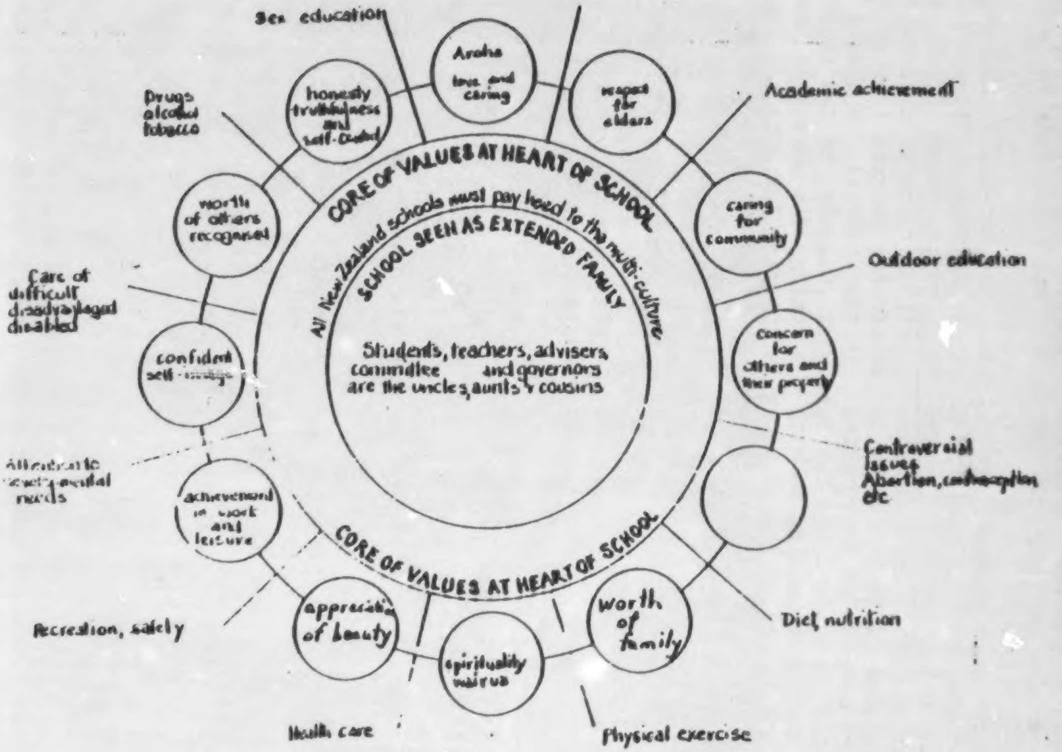

EUROPEAN WORLD-VIEW
AFRICAN WORLD-VIEW
Individuality
Uniqueness
Differences
Psycho-Behavioral Modalities
Groupness
Sameness
Commonality
Competition
Individual Rights
Separateness and Independence
Values and Customs
Cooperation
Collective Responsibility
Cooperateness and Independence
Survival of the Fittest
Control over Nature
Ethos
Survival of the Tribe
One with Nature
Experiential Communality
Experiential Communality

Figure 8.8 Nobles Comparative World View Schematic (PD, Y4)


Sex education
Aroha love and caring
respect for elders
Academic achievement
honesty truthfulness and self-control
Drugs alcohol tobacco
worth of others recognised
caring for community
Outdoor education
Care of difficult disadvantaged disabled
confident self-image
concern for others and their property
CORE OF VALUES AT HEART OF SCHOOL
All New Zealand schools must pay heed to the multi-culture
SCHOOL SEEN AS EXTENDED FAMILY
Students, teachers, advisers, committee and governors are the uncles, aunts & cousins
Controversial issues Abortion, contraception etc
Alternative [illegible] needs
achievement in work and leisure
CORE OF VALUES AT HEART OF SCHOOL
appreciation of beauty
worth of family
Diet nutrition
Recreation, safety
spirituality wairua
Health care
Physical exercise

If the school takes the role of extended family, it would naturally concern itself with matters shown on periphery of diagram

Figure 8.9 Values and Issues in Social Education in New Zealand Society (from Johnson, 1978, p. 5)

As he says, "The tasks of education, as I see them are threefold: 1) academic..., 2) social and health..., 3) cultural.... .These three tasks intertwine inextricably. If we inflate one aspect at the expense of the others, no matter what fine old banner we march under, we do our children and our country a disservice" (p. 4). His friends and colleatues (Bates, 1978; Codd, 1978; Cooper, 1978) among others present penetrating critical analyses from philosophical, sociological and psychological perspectives. We raise this example as a positive counter illustration of the level and kind of debate possible on these issues but which we neither saw nor heard in the Inquiry and Assistance Project.

Finally, two other references, provocatively set out issues which overlap with the rationale and ideology of IAP's Cultural Continuity Project. In a fascinating little book, The Colonizer and the Colonized, Memmi (1965) speaks of his experiences in North Africa and the turnoil of cultural differences and conflict. The deftness of his alternation between the perspectives of the colonizer and the colonized is fascinating. In that context, he speaks of options: elimination, assimilation, the foreigner remaining in the colony now independent, the foreigner holding on with the coming of a seemingly inevitable revolution, or a moderation of change which is too fast for some and too slow for others. The internal personality struggles accompanying the longer term resolutions are dramatic and difficult. In his words:

> If the European must annihilate the colonizer within himself, the colonized must rise above his colonized being....He must free himself from those inevitable conditions of his struggle...nationalism... religion...tradition...ethnic characteristics....If he ceases to be colonized, he will become something else....Having reconquered all his dimensions, the former colonized will have become a man like any other. There will be ups and downs of all men to be sure, but at least he will be a whole and free man. (pp. 151-153)

For those with an existential perspective that might serve as a rallying point.

In two brief, but penetrating papers, "Self hatred among Jews" and "Bringing up the Jewish child," Kurt Lewin (1948 a & b) presents a series of observations, analytical distinctions, and practical suggestions. All of this is in keeping with his social psychological and group dynamics theoretical perspective ("Nothing is so practical as a good theory"), a concern with action research and inquiry into important real life problems, and a commitment to democratic values and human dignity. In those discussions he comments:

> ...that self hatred is present among Jews is a fact that the non-Jew would hardly believe, but which is well known among Jews themselves...
>
> ...a phenomenon which has its parallels in many underprivileged groups... American Negroes...second generation of Greek, Italian, Polish and other immigrants to this country...
>
> ...interdependence of fate...
>
> ...the task of organizing a group which economically or otherwise underprivileged is seriously hampered by those members whose real goal is to leave the group rather than to promote it...

> ...to counteract fear and make the individual strong to face whatever the future holds, there is nothing so important as a clear and fully accepted belonging to a group whose fate has a positive meaning. A long range view which includes the past and the future of Jewish life, and links the solution of the minority problem with the problem of the welfare of all human beings is one of these possible sources of strength. (1948a, pp. 186-199)

For anyone who has tried their hand at developing a group perspective, a workable plan, and a functioning group across these issues and groups the "difficulty" is self evident although the "difficulties" may not be. In these regards, among others, IAP seemed a microcosm of urban education. The intellectual excitement in these ideas did not receive the widespread elaboration, discussion and debate in IAP that their historical and worldwide currency would suggest as both possible and desirable. The variation in perspectives regarding those ideas was caught in the comments of a black member of IAP:

> OBS: Tell me about the whole cultural continuity idea. Do you see any potency in that or is it...did it miss the mark or is it...?
>
> IAP: I thought...I thought her paper had an interesting notion, but I didn't think it had any substance. I don't think that it demonstrated the peculiar nature of a black education. The uniqueness of it. And I'm willing to say...I'm open to the fact that there may be unique characters or aspects that are valid. I don't know what they are...I thought the, uh, paper wasn't explicit on what she thought was important. In what you called cultural continuity.

The Program

The kinds of consultative assistance the Central City Group brought to the public schools involved three principal activities: 1) a peer tutoring program, 2) an open corridor program, and 3) a broad parental involvement program. In each of these programs, cooperative relationships between IAP, the public schools, and a variety of community agencies (e.g., CETA) were required. Several aspects of the peer tutoring seem significant in the overall context of IAP's design and functioning. First, it was initiated by the teachers of Central City. It did not have a counterpoint in any of the ten settings IAP had been working. Therefore, knowledge of "how to do it" had to come from other sources. Second, the relationships between older and younger students and the style of interacting were easily and well rationalized and integrated within the broader cultural continuity perspective that the Central City Group was developing. The extended family concept and cooperative values were much in evidence. Third, the initial program occurred in the summer and involved several hundred tutors and several hundred younger students. Evaluation efforts indicated that a majority of both groups improved substantially in basic skills, primarily in reading, which was the major focus. Fourth, the program was then slated for moving into the regular school year. Tutors went through the two-day training program. Meetings were held with teachers, and plans were made. The consultative assistance team lowered its involvement and turned to other projects. The final report makes this comment:

> While it appeared that time and resources did not permit the teachers to follow up on the peer tutoring programs, members of the assistance team had the impression that cross age tutoring as an instructional strategy not only has the potential for improving student achievement but of equal importance it is a strategy that reinforces the African world view and therefore builds on the cultural strengths of black children. (PD/Y4)

The open corridor plan did build directly on the experience from one of the ten settings. It, more than any other consultative assistance activity, seemed congruent with the original goals of IAP. A late spring seminar, at the same time the peer tutoring program was getting underway, brought Central City teachers together with the field researcher from Eastern City who had been observing a well developed open education program. Four of the Central City teachers had already begun a similar program. The slide tape account and the discussions were to help clarify the program and extend it to other parts of the Lincoln School where the IAP team was working. Throughout the next year a series of a half-dozen workshops were carried out and the program spread throughout one section of the large school in which the project worked. A variety of problems severely curtailed the program in the following year. Many of the key teachers were transferred from the Lincoln School as part of the court desegregation orders. This left the entire staff disorganized and rebuilding relationships. Second, the phasing out of IAP consultative assistance efforts raised resistance. Third, internal conflicts and staff turnover within IAP and internal conflicts within Lincoln staff and between staff and parents were surfacing.

The third strand of the Consultative Assistance program involved attempts at increasing parent involvement. The meetings ranged from large inspirational meetings to smaller more mundane aspects of participation and involvement workshops. Once again, data from other settings in IAP were introduced in the form of slide tape shows and individual speakers. The program made only a beginning in looking at the latent issues in "parent involvement." At one point the IAP position was described,

> The thrust of his message dealt with the need for parents to be actively involved in the school's program by volunteering to assist teachers, by learning to tutor their children, by sharing information about children and the community with teachers, by bringing in materials for special projects, and by being a frequent visitor to the school and thereby, offering support to teachers, students, and administrators. (PD/Y4)

In the course of its work, IAP developed several conceptions of parent involvement. The levels idea seems particularly important. It is presented as Figure 8.10.

Insert Figure 8.10 about here

On several occasions the possible kinds of conflict engendered as power is sought and realigned among groups of administrators, teachers, parents and outside consultants arose. The IAP stance is stated as follows:

1. Passive participation
    - Receiver of information on child and school
2. Social participation
    - Open house, PTA
3. Volunteer service
    - Fund-raising, aide, tutoring
4. Recipients of training or education
5. Enlistment as political allies
    - Contacts with elites, community organizations
6. Paid employment
    - Classroom or non-classroom
7. Decision-making - influence
    - Advisory committees
8. Policy-making - power
    - Governing board, policy committees

Figure 8.10 Levels of Parent Participation (PD/Y4)

> We contend that optimal parental participation on all levels is desirable, and that the best interests of the entire school community are served when parental presence permeates the program. (PD/Y4)

Some would disagree with that.

A Final Interpretive Comment or Two

Nothing in IAP was ever simple. One person described the Consultative Assistance activity in these words:

> Members of the Central City Consultant Group viewed themselves as resources to the school people in that they were able to provide the same type of services to the school people that an average consultant team would supply. The team director stated that the Central City Region of IAP viewed building and maintaining a relationship with school people as one of its main goals. One aspect of the IAP mandate was for the project to test "articulation," the process of defining ways in which information can be taken from one place and used or adapted for use in another setting. (PD/Y5)

This amounts to a several-step process. First, the specific innovation must be either taken from the Inquiry Group or developed within IAP. Both strategies were used at one time or another. Second, the specific innovation must be studied/evaluated both formatively and summatively. And thirdly, the articulation process itself must be examined in a self-reflective way. A very complex task indeed.

Carrying out the sophisticated consulting task required IAP to build a Consultant Group. In ARC the parent organization, the original staff had been increased ten-fold, as we have already indicated. One senior member of ARC became the Group Leader with the task of developing her group. Figure 8.11 indicates the structure of that group.

Insert Figure 8.11 about here

The shape of the structure was not as critical as the need to build internal relations and the problems attendant on that building process.

> Several aspects of the building of relationships were shaped by the members of the assistance team. In interactions during the entry stages the team members presented themselves and stated the type of interactions they thought were necessary from their organizational as well as individual standpoints.
>
> For example, members of the Central City group often described the project and their role in the project to members of the district staff. Often they described the issues the project faced, such as

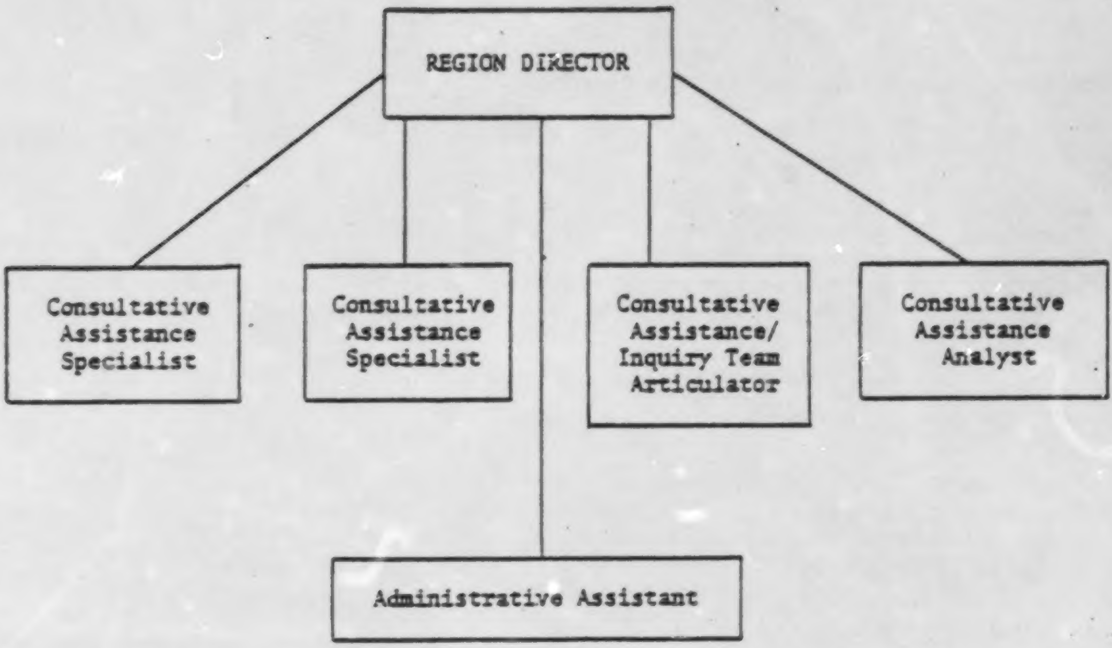

REGION DIRECTOR
Consultative Assistance Specialist
Consultative Assistance Specialist
Consultative Assistance/ Inquiry Team Articulator
Consultative Assistance Analyst
Administrative Assistant

Figure 8.11 Central City Consultative Assistance Organizational Structure (PD/YS)

> using terms that were useful to people both in and outside of the project. Team members attempted to link the work of the project to the everyday activities and concerns of the school people pointing out that the children were the prime concern so if they didn't do the same work or use the same terms they should remember their common desire, to remember that the children must benefit from all of their efforts.
>
> Assistance team members stated the nature of their work, while being open about the extent to which they were in agreement with a particular organizational viewpoint. While an individual standpoint was usually something that was not shared by members of the project as a whole, it was usually shared by more than one project member. One example of an individual standpoint that was sometimes shared was that school people must be very careful when defining parent involvement and include in the definition roles for parents to assist in the classroom. Some of the team members felt this way because many parents see the teacher as the primary instructor in the classroom and the parents do everything they can to prepare the children for the instruction that occurs there. (PD/Y5)

If we understand those comments they are reflections on the need "to get one's act together" before one can be of help to someone else. Our comments are not intended to be critical of any individuals nor of the process, but to indicate the severe difficulties in carrying out the mandated tasks while one is developing the organizational work group itself. The example extends the earlier analysis on the issues in rapid growth of IAP.

This group building obviously goes beyond the problem of group perspectives into the positions and roles in the group itself.

> When the initial entry process was accomplished the team began some on-going assistance activities, there was a shift of the responsibility of responding to the needs of the schools' site people, from the team director to the technical assistance specialists. One of the people in the role of assistance specialist was promoted from administrative assistant, a fact that was seen as a strength. She was already familiar with the project and the Region director's work in the school district. Her skills and past experiences made it appear easier for her to take on additional responsibilities within a short period of time. This assistance team member took on the responsibility of responding to the needs of school people at the same time the screening and selection of the second assistance specialist was in process. The selection process was designed to include the assistance specialist as well as other members of the team as part of the project's belief that this would lead to a stronger, well-functioning team. (PD/Y5)

In addition, the broader participatory ideology weaves back into the group building process and, in turn, into the carrying out the complex mandated activities, giving consultative assistance.

> The plan was for the two assistance specialists to share the role of providing assistance to school people. The selection and hiring of the second assistance person took longer than anticipated. By the time the second assistance specialist was hired he had to spend time becoming familiar with the project, the educational settings under study, the school district where the information was being treated, as well as the other members of the assistance team and their roles. (PD/YS)

Other aspects of ideology and an indirect reference to latent conflict in the Group appears in one final set of comments.

> In addition, the second assistance team specialist was the only male member of the team. He was often singled out and asked for his opinion as a male, on the actions of individual team members and district staff. Sometimes this was done in a seemingly joking manner. He was also the primary person able to discuss intra-team issues with each of the other team members who usually confided in him. In many of the schools he visited, the second assistance person would run into people he had previously met in other settings. (PD/YS)

Elsewhere we have made our central analysis of the functions and dysfunctions of conflict in IAP. Here we merely note that it filtered down into the basic day-to-day consulting activities through staffing changes.

> Staffing changes in the project as a whole and the Central City Group became an issue for the Group. There were questions about the team and the organization it represented that resulted in the team having to answer questions ranging from why certain staff members were no longer on the project to ideas on educational theory. This is something that everyone involved in the interaction throught had undeterminable effects on the relationships that were being developed and maintained in the school district. (PD/YS)

One of the interviewees spoke directly to their perception of one aspect of the turnover problem.

> Um...I understand it was a political stance from her point of view in order to insure blacks to be hired. But when indeed a black was hired as a research coordinator, George was his name. Because George was a different kind of person, he was primarily a professional, she proceeded to undermine him tremendously. And she did the same thing to Sara. A tremendous antagonism between the two, and I think it eventually happened with Claudia too, whom I happen to like a lot. I think that she couldn't tolerate competition. She's very much of a prima donna. You had to go and, you know, render honor to the queen before anything. There was a lot of that going on. Um...at the same time I admire--I can't help but admire the woman, you know. becsuse she's very intelligent. (TI/YS)

At a minimum, the perception, or even misperception if it be that, suggests the kind of complicated and difficult set of interpersonal relationships within IAP, which played through the organization and, in turn, complicated it's relationships with the schools with whom it was working.

School buildings, and districts as a whole, have formal and informal structures relating to authority, power and communication. Interpersonal consulting, by it's very nature, disturbs (helps? hinders?) those relationships. In the words of one staff member,

> ...The assistance specialists spent time talking individually to teachers and the principal of the school. The team members viewed these discussions as important ways for gaining a better understanding of the school and what individuals therein felt that they needed assistance in. It became clear in a meeting in March, Year 4, with the teachers that the assistance specialists worked with most closely that some of the teachers thought that once they told the team members things the school needed, that they had not said direct to the principal themselves, the assistance specialists would communicate these messages for them. This became clear in the meeting when one of the assistance specialists asked the teachers if they had considered having a meeting with the principal to discuss some of the things they thought were necessary to get their school project going more smoothly. The teachers said that they thought that was something the assistance specialist would do during their individual meetings with the principal. When the assistance specialists informed the teachers that they had not been discussing these issues with the principal, the teachers inquired about the content of the discussions during assistance specialists' meetings with the principal. The assistance specialists explained that they met with the principal as part of the on-going activity to keep everyone informed of the activities of the team while at the school. They also got information from the principal regarding ways they might be of direct assistance to her. The assistance team members explained that they had deliberately avoided the role of message carrier between the teachers and the principal because they felt that it was more productive for them to assist in getting people in the setting to sit down and talk directly to each other rather than become dependent on someone from the outside coming in to communicate messages for them. (PD/Y5)

The latter point seems very critical to the organizational development thrust of IAP generally.

The consequences ripple through the relationships between the outside groups and the school staff.

> Several aspects of the assistance team/school people interaction became somewhat shaky ground for the assistance team to read. One area where this was manifest revolved around the team having access to information, causing school people who did not have this information, or access to it, to be somewhat cautious about the team. (PD/Y5)

One might phrase the issue as "Whose side are you on?" Or, "Who are you working for?" While that is a bit extreme re: the School/Project relationship, for the pluralistic political model we have been developing around IAP as a microcosm, it is not extreme.

3.3 The Southwestern City Group

As in each part of IAP, considerable affect was invested in the Southwestern City consultative assistance activities. The Group Process Center, GPC, had entered into the Inquiry and Assistance Project for a number of reasons. They needed continuing funding. They wanted more involvement with urban schools. They had met and worked with key administrators in Southwestern City some years before when several were in another school district. They were looking for a mutually satisfying project and resources to renew and extend those relationships. The relationship with ARC blended ARC's more urban setting experience and anthropological inquiry experience with GPC's more scholarly orientation and experience and their group process intervention experiences. As one of the GPC leaders commented,

> So we were looking for some connection with an urban group. My belief is that at the other side of things, the people at ARC were thinking, 'We need to hook up with some people that are fairly knowledgeable and sophisticated about intervention. We've got these desires to do it but we don't know a lot about it, and here's a group that's been doing it for a while.' (TI/Y5)

The actualities of the ARC/GPC relationships are recounted elsewhere.

The Perspective of the Southwestern City Group

The staff in the Southwestern City effort carried a number of strong beliefs about consultative assistance. These beliefs both overlapped and conflicted with other segments of IAP, but not in any simple we/they, us/them split. Sometimes it involved GPC vs. ARC, other times, the Consultative Assisters vs. the Inquirers, and so on. Consider the complexities in the following comments:

> But what we were struggling with as consultative assistance persons was I believed that we could not, we should not, wait for the inquiry people to give us detailed case studies and results from the ten settings and then carry those to the CA sites because that would be replicating the failures of the past on to work on problems of future production. Rather what we should do is make contacts with a number of schools in the CA sites early, and have them enter into the sort of collaborative relationships with the researchers at the ten settings. So that as the people at the CA sites define their own problems for themselves, then if they begin to reach up to the ten sites they can get help. I was the strongest proponent of that way of thinking about the project. And when we hired on the CA people that was what I would tend to comment

> to them. We're going to start working early with the schools in Central City and Southwestern City to get this kind of two-way street going, this give and take between the two sides of the thing. (TI/YS)

That comment by a member of GPC working in the Southwestern City site is one of several positions possible within the broad scope of the original contract. It was to lead, in part, to a concern that Southwestern City was "going it alone," "doing it's own thing," or being unresponsive to the people and data from the ten inquiry settings. For our purposes here, it points to a major and unresolved intellectual issue in IAP's conception of consultative assistance, inquiry, and, ultimately articulation. The demands of schedules and time lines, the feelings of pressure to produce, the newness of relationships between Centers and among individuals, all contributed to the non-exploration of fundamental theoretical issues and practical points of departure.

Aspects of the broader ideology move into the Southwestern City team's perspective as reported in another interview:

> But looking back on that February Conference theme, I think that what we were hung up on,...and I guess maybe I'm still hung up on the problem, is my optimistic kind of assumption that there can't be a helluva lot of difference between expert behavioral scientists and savvy experienced field hand practitioners. But let me put it this way: that there are a helluva lot of untapped resources in people who have not had the opportunity or the structure in which they could move themselves into power positions. It's a romantic view of democracy I guess and it's certainly not proven out to be our recent experience. But it's a deeply held kind of feeling. (TI/YS)

The democratic, egalitarian, human potential beliefs pervaded the consultative assistance intervention strategy proposed by the GPC group. Once again, within that position, and particularly in a project involving minorities, pluralism, professions of several kinds, and complicated collectivities called public schools, those issues, in the richness of both their theoretical subtleties and their immediate practical actions were not made problematic.

The perspective moved toward more concrete forms in recollections of entry strategies and tactics.

> So what we, I'm trying to recall how we first, the first meetings we had with the superintendent and the area superintendents had to do with laying out IAP's parts and describing the kinds of things that the ten, some of the ten settings, were trying to do. And it seemed to us and to them at that point that these things that were being attempted were general enough, like...parent involvement...open education...local business... (TI/YS)

Mixed in whith the ten settings aspect were more general beliefs and key concepts such as "leverage" from GPC's earlier experience in working with schools, groups and organizations.

> So our orientation was a cooperative thing. We, well, we'll become involved with some, either some schools or some key people in relation to schools. We will start to help them identify the kinds of issues that need to be worked on in their schools, and then wherever an issue and the ten sites overlap we'll help. Wherever they won't we may have to say no. But our belief was that the ten settings would be helpful and that was a mistake. It was not a very good belief or accurate belief or whatever. We decided to put most emphasis on a new role, cause we thought leverage would change, would be highest there. This new role was called the Instructional Assistant Principal. The role was between the principal and teachers. (TI/Y5)

Integral to these beliefs was an underlying conception of articulation.

> Yeah, these are the people you wanted to work with, people who could link up. Well, let me say it in a different way. There's the ten settings, there's the field researchers who are looking at the ten settings, the field researchers who gave the data to research coordinators or the technical assistance people, who, in turn, worked with these Instructional Assistant Principals to get it to the teachers, in a kind of transmission belt. (TI/Y5)

Several flaws arose in the scheme:

> The frustration that we experienced was that, and I say we, I mean the CA people, we thought, we could never get, we never got the kind of information from the ten settings that we wanted...we thought we learned more from ourselves visiting the setting for a day or two or three, which we tried to do at all the settings, in contrast to what we could learn from the notes, the field notes of the field researchers. We tried for four or five months to read those field data forms. (TI/Y5)

But the flaws, if they be that, were not in the immediate actions but in the varying conceptions of the overall design of IAP and the organizational structures and mechanisms which had been instituted or which had developed.

A final perspective on a perspective carries us back into the IAP organization more generally.

> We were I think viewed by others, like, let's say the people at ARC, as doing our own thing. We've got a group process strategy and we've got a handbook of techniques. And it was true, we were doing some of that. It's not true that we weren't trying to get information though from the ten settings that would be substantive and would be helpful to the Southwestern City site. It was the case that we used methods of problem definition and problem solving and some needs assessment type things that we had previously

> worked on ourselves to get information. Well, one assignment we were giving Instructional Assistant Principals, for example, was to go to your school, we'd like some diagnostic information from the teachers on this problem. (TI/Y5)

In a sense, once again, what was not problematic was the issue of how do we do this complicated thing called articulation, one sub-issue of which is the nature and the possibility and desirability of blending older personal tested-in-practice knowledge and techniques with new knowledge and experience, some of which was collegial rather than personal. Within IAP, at least in one person's perspective, the reaction was more judgmental than problematic. The degree of feeling involved in these differences appeared in one of the interviews:

> ...the answer is not assistant principals' seminars for six weeks so you can write another book...

The Southwestern City CA Effort

The very establishment of the Consultative Assistance project in Southwestern City raises a number of issues that might well have been made problematic. The first and perhaps most important is the changing, unpredictable environment. Turbulent is a recent phrasing (Emery and Trist, 1968). During the negotiations, the superintendent died and the acting superintendent could make only limited commitments. The FED's contract required Title I schools as recipients. The internal dynamics of the district carried a not unusual ethic:

> A few of the principals seemed to think that although they might profit from working with the consultants, to do so could be viewed by their district level supervisors as a sign of personal weakness or incompetence. In a few cases, the principals were perceiving their superiors with some degree of accuracy; district administrators did view them and their schools as in need of help. But in most cases, the principals were unnecessarily worried, since district administrators had suggested the school as a good one in which the consultants would find excellent things happening. (PD/Y4)

And then further--an assistant superintendent who had been supportive of IAP also died. A new general superintendent was hired with his own substantive agenda and, as IAP was to discover, a centralized reorganization, which was, in part, in conflict with IAP's ideology. And, within IAP, conflicts and time consuming modes of resolution were rising:

> ...many staff meetings and conference calls among IAP staff to give further consideration to linkage between researchers and consultants and to consistency between plans for consultation and IAP's goals. (PD/Y4)

The Western City group hired a half-time person who would be in Southwestern City, on site, an effort to remedy some of the distance problems. She resigned within six months, in August just before school began.

Even with our 20/20 hindsight, we not only do not have a ready solution to those events, but more importantly we don't even have a way of thinking about those issues beyond a vague feeling that they are generalizable to other urban settings and that they are important for the renovation of urban schools. We found little evidence that they were more generally problematic in IAP. One of the outside reviewers for the FEDs seemed to be raising the same sort of concern.

> I did feel that the document, [about the Southwestern City effort] despite its close ties to "raw" data is somehow disconnected from what I see in schools. The paper deals very heavily with the process of consultation without providing much insight into the organizational matrix in which the consultation is delivered. Much detail is provided about consultative processes and how these might "change" schools, yet hardly a glance is given to an administrative reform of the schools initiated by a new superintendent. Does not such broad, centrally controlled power tell the consultants anything? Shouldn't they report what they learn from an event like that?
>
> I see, too, the effects of professional mobility (people leaving the project) being mentioned in the report, and being identified with real problems of service delivery. Yet these same problems, which form the basis of many urban schools' organizational patterns, are not treated in any serious manner. Other problems commonly faced by administrators, like death, senility, retirement, alcoholism, drug addiction, personal problems, tenure, and the like are simply not dealt with, yet these things, I know, appear as issues in the management of schools.
>
> Again, I see too little connection between the data and the "findings," although I do feel this paper is a significant improvement over the other document. Neither makes good reading for me as a researcher. (PD/Y4)

Concretely, the Southwestern City consultative assistance group of IAP occurred at three levels and five settings. Three different elementary schools were involved, one high school, and a group from the central administration. A paragraph or two account of each setting must suffice for what was a series of intriguing, complicated and frequently discouraging set of events.

At Elementary School A:

> The consultants planned to work primarily with the school's instructional strategies council, hoping to help the group to experience effective meetings, to build productive relationships with the rest of the faculty, to conduct a school-wide needs assessment, to carry out systematic problem-solving, to plan for staff development, to implement some new programs, and to carry out formative evaluation on the action attempts...
>
> The principal expressed most interest in having the consultants provide a series of workshops on leadership skills for parents...
>
> The consultants realized that the principal's priorities for intervention targets were not the same as they had planned originally in the macro-design for the school...

> The consultants did not attend the school advisory council meeting to which they had been invited, primarily for two reasons. First, Thanksgiving vacation at the school made it difficult to stay in touch with school participants as the school advisory council meeting was planned and publicized. Second, the principal wanted the consultants to teach Robert's Rules instead of topics focused on at the initial training event. The consultants were not sure that parents wanted to or ought to learn what the principal was requesting and so agreed only to send written materials describing other kinds of meetings to the principal...

At a later inservice teacher workshop on using manipulative materials in mathematics teaching,

> The workshop did not go as planned...the consultants--who had just finished...a workshop for parents on the same afternoon--were ten minutes late...one teacher immediately challenged the workshop plan saying that teachers had not asked for help and did not need help...resented the fact that attendance at the workshop had been mandated by the principal...the discussion that consumed the time was not very productive since teachers had not systematically monitored the new math program yet definitely disagreed about the effectiveness, and since the consultants, due to hurried and long distance communication among themselves and insufficient communications with the principal, were not prepared to facilitate discussion of the topics... (PD/Y4)

Finally, one might add that new plans were always tentative because of concerns over the funding by the FEDs. Changes in amounts and kinds always lurked in the background.

At Schools B and C, parent involvement issues arose. At Elementary School B:

> Invitations were sent home with children to all parents. The invitations asked parents to come make inexpensive Christmas gifts of acrylic that they could take home and to discuss parent involvement in the school. Only one parent responded to the invitation... (PD/Y4)

Later, the use of room parents brought "Twenty-five of fifty room parents to a meeting in late January" and expectations rose for later involvement.

In contrast, at Elementary School C:

> October was fraught with tension and conflicts among staff members, but most of their feelings remained private. Many teachers resisted the notion of having parents in their classrooms, but they discussed the matter informally and not at formal meetings. Some saw parents as threats to their professional security while others viewed parents as a necessary component of the instructional process. Also present was some tension over the inability of white teachers to communicate

> with black parents. The diverse degrees of teachers' readiness to accept parents into their classrooms created a dilemma for the Southwestern City team as some teachers sluggishly supported or dragged their feet on most of the consultants' proposals. Most important, only four of School C's 25 teachers actively participated in the development of the parental school within a school...

Similar problems with other activities left the CA team concluding,

> For the few school participants who did care about increasing parent involvement, disappointment followed disappointment, and for the consultants, frustration followed frustration. (PD/Y4)

At the Southwestern City High School, the CA team was most actively involved with the Assistant Principal who had district-wide responsibility for a committee on "Management and Motivation in Secondary Schools." At her high school, the principal was concerned about the interrelationships between counselors, teachers and students. The consultants were asked to help with the perceived set of problems.

> The first meeting with counselors on September 14 was difficult for the consultants. As they explained the IAP project, their history in the district and their ideas for helping at SW High, the counselors were very defensive. They had learned from many sad experiences that when administrators brought helpers to them, only frustration would ensue. They were suspicious that the principal and assistant principal had sent the consultants in as spies. Nonetheless, they agreed to meet again with the consultants; some of the counselors hinted that this might be a way to get the principal to stop pressuring them to change....

Broader district events occurred.

> During the week following the consultants' visit the Assistant Principal was asked to assume the principalship at a nearby Junior High. She accepted and was transferred a few days later. It soon became obvious to the consultants that activities of SW High School instructional strategies council stopped with her transfer. Her transfer also had the consequence of stimulating competition for the post of Asssitant Principalship that consumed much of the time of the competitors and their supporters. (PD/Y4)

Later, the relationships between the principal (and his style), the new assistant principal and the counselors came into the forefront. The counselors began to work more as a group and to confront their world collectively. The IAP team had a constructive hand in these developments.

As we read the accounts and listened to participants in interviews several significant generalizations, sometimes in the form of questions, loom large. First, the very rationale of IAP is complex, if not problematic. In effect, the possibilities and difficulties in a temporary system (IAP), influencing a permanent system (the Southwestern City Public Schools), is open to serious question. Witness the teachers' reactions at Elementary School A and the counselor's reactions at the High School.

Second, the very way the relationship was structured seemed important. IAP offering unsolicited help across a vague domain of possibilities is contrary to the usual "market" orientation of most consulting. For instance, our school needs help in parent involvement, in reading instruction, in organizational development or in X, Y or Z. We then go to group or firm A, B or C who has skills, knowledge, and reputation for dealing with one or another of those problems. We agree to allocate so many dollars from our budget to pay for those services. IAP's stance was both different in kind and difficult to explain to the various levels of school people.

Third, the schools in Southwestern City are loosely coupled political systems. At a minimum, the consultants seemed always to be between conflicting groups; at a maximum they found themselves implicitly or explicitly choosing sides. Teachers, counselors, administrators, parents, and youngsters often want very different things from their school. The strategy and tactics for dealing with that kind of world is not apparent in IAP's original rationale nor in their later reflections.

Fourth, consulting at a distance intertwined with the separateness and multiplicity of settings. Each school was in some fundamental way an independent system, that is, the teachers, principals, parents, and pupils fought, argued, debated, interacted and cooperated in their own way over their own issues and settled their own problems in ways which were quite different. The time problems involved in relating to these "separate" systems, the communication problems between IAP and the systems, and the internal team building and coordinating problems within the IAP consulting group were everpresent.

Fifth, the role of individual careers and school functioning seemed to add further aspects to instructional problems, organizational problems, political process in the schools and consulting efforts. Administrators and other staff at all levels come and go as they seek and find new opportunities. Again, we are reminded of the realities of Griffiths et al's (1963) concept of "GASing," Getting Attention of Supervisors, which they drew out of their New York City experience. If this is another fact of life in urban schools, and we would argue it is, and the Southwestern City data seems in accord as well, then consultative assistance strategies must be self-consciously contingent on such realities.

Finally, we would comment that the Southwestern City CA effort had multiple aspects in multiple settings. The challenges to their earlier repertory of skills, to the complexities of a large urban school system in its own idiosyncratic turbulence, and the internal difficulties in the larger parent project of IAP (the inquiry aspects which were late, the changing organizational structure, the multiple conflicts) and the brevity of their time line, posed almost insurmountable problems for the consultative assistance.

Reviewers of the major documents produced on the Southwestern City efforts were critical and judgmental.

> The GPC documents were disappointing for other reasons...I was expecting a great deal from the GPC group. Since they have been doing this work for so long, I expected them to be at a level that would be highly insightful about their work. And since urban settings are new to them, I would have expected some evidence that they had done some thinking about differences among school settings that make it necessary for them to modify what they had been doing up to that point. All of this may have been part of their learning from this project. However, I was able to find no evidence of such thinking in these documents. (PD/Y4)

General Issues in Consultative Assistance

As we have thought our way through IAP's consultative assistance efforts in Central City and Southwestern City several larger issues in assistance, helping, consulting have arisen. These blend issues of time, place, people and knowledge. In addition, a number of value issues relating to the kind and magnitude of change are involved.

A Model of Consultative Assistance

Not only in IAP but in professional education more generally the issue of "practice, practical, praxis, utilization, useful, user" has suffered, in our judgment, because of a lack of specificity in the use of the terms. Anyone who has taught in a teacher education program knows the lament of "it's not practical" or "it's not of any use." Our point though is that what may be very useful to a preschool teacher may seem totally nonsensical to a secondary science teacher--and vice versa. To handle the problem requires an initial analysis of the concept of assistance. Figure 8.12 suggests domains and categories that seemed more implicit than explicit in IAP. It accents categories of users, categories of situations defined in terms of immediacy in time and place and finally the categories of help--knowledge, skills and attitudes and values.

Insert Figure 8.12 about here

Our perspective seems relatively simple and commonplace yet important. It implies a kind of specificity rather than a general or diffuse concept of helping or assistance. Briefly, the model acknowledges diverse groups or categories with whom a consultant might be involved. These categories of clients, users, or audiences often have very different needs, interests, and perspectives--as seemed clear in both Central and Southwestern Cities. The kinds of knowledges, orientations, and skills which one has which might be helpful to someone else also has a kind of specificity. Knowing the "ins and outs" of manipulative materials in mathematics materials is very different than knowing how to develop

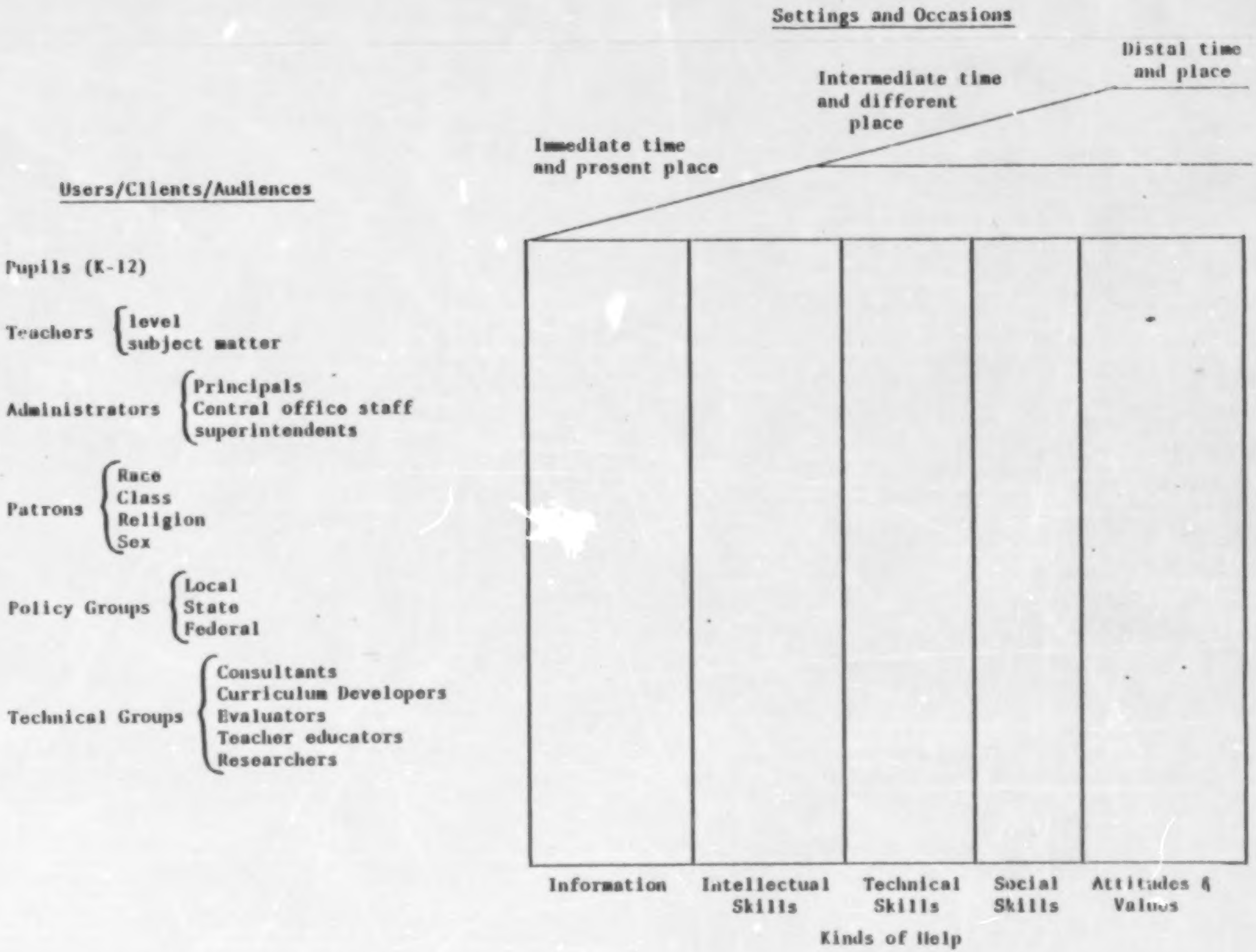

Settings and Occasions
Distal time and place
Intermediate time and different place
Immediate time and present place
Users/Clients/Audiences
Pupils (K-12)
Teachers
level
subject matter
Administrators
Principals
Central office staff
superintendents
Patrons
Race
Class
Religion
Sex
Policy Groups
Local
State
Federal
Technical Groups
Consultants
Curriculum Developers
Evaluators
Teacher educators
Researchers
Information
Intellectual Skills
Technical Skills
Social Skills
Attitudes & Values
Kinds of Help

Figure 8.12 A Preliminary Model of Consultative Assistance

group procedures using Roberts Rules of Order. The tacit knowledge that comes with experience may also be different from an articulate verbalization of principles. Finally, critical problems lie in the immediacy of help for a particular time and place versus building some kind of potential for handling problems at other more distal times and places.

By way of a short summary, several additional generalizations have been implicit in our account. The intentions of the FEDs in the original RFP suggests both some specificity but also considerable vagueness in categories of users. The particular projects in the "10 settings" distribute themselves across the model in overlapping ways. The original strengths of the Applied Research Center and the Group Process Center fall into reasonably well defined categories of the chart. In addition, as both the early documents and the interviews indicate, each organization hoped to grow and develop in quite specified particular ways. Finally, the two major Consultative Assistance efforts in Midwest City and Southwestern City show important differences in ways which were not integrated into an overall rationale.

The Degree of Change: Dilemmas and Perspectives

One of the most intriguing but more latent and unresolved issues in IAP, we have labeled "the degree of change." In another form it's the alternative of grandeur versus the gradualist strategy again. In the consultative assistance effort its represented by the "radicalism" of the Central City ideology (although not so much in the program per se) of cultural continuity in the Black African ethos, values, and behavior patterns. This contrasted with the more conservative "establishment" consultative assistance in the Southwestern City effort.* The importance of the issue has been raised most clearly and critically by Berlak (1978) who poses the issue as a dilemma between continuity and change, that is, does schooling accent the reproduction of the society or accent the re-creation of society? His position is stated forcefully:

---

*In a critique of an early draft of this section, one participant suggests another perception of this line of analysis:

> Also, your categorizing of the Central City intervention as "radical" and Southwestern City as "conservative" fails to take into consideration the fundamental racism that underlies Central City's theory. They're arguing that centuries of eugenics have led Black-skinned people to be more cooperative than white-skinned people. While the actual strategies of school-change, calling for recognizing and building on cooperative recources, may be considered "radical," the theoretical base of the "cultural-strength theory" tends toward fascism. In contrast, while from some points of view, the Group Process strategy may be conservative, that only comes from a superficial view of the strategy in action. The philosophical roots go back to a radical view of participatory democracy and lead toward democratic socialism if carried to practical extremes. Perhaps, you too have been misled by the apparent radicalism of the one approach and the apparent conservatism of the other. Ultimately cooperation is the sine qua non of Group Process work, while competition between groups emerges from the "cultural continuity" perspective. (PD,Y6)

> We are all objects in the environment and indeed shaped by social physical circumstances; but we are also subjects, initiators of actions that influence and change these circumstances (p. 39).

One's stance here is critical for the social action one subscribes to. IAP had no common solution to rationalize its consultative assistance efforts. Indeed, the problem was not problematic for the organization. While the ideology of IAP gave some general guidance to issues such as these, the differences in the concrete manifestations were never worked through. One interview comment caught an early on perception of commonality.

> I especially liked their reform attitudes about schools and that they're not extreme radicals about them. Realistic reformists, the way I saw them. (TI/YS)

Later as new people were hired, new perspectives arose and conflict was generated.

Mixed in with the degree of change issue were a number of other key variables. After reading one of the case studies, the observer made these notes.

> 7 PM: As I read her radical account, I'm sorry to see the project closed, the ideas just coming to maturity suggest the need for a university type setting that can tolerate the differences and grow with them. Maybe ARC could; IAP as project, not so. Related to IAP being the totality of ARC! Then there's the fighting between Beatrice and the young radicals. Also the junior status--pre Ph.D. of radical group and the need for but difficulty in getting funds. (FN/YS)

There were possibilities for integration of points of view from all parts of IAP--inquiry, consultative assistance and formative evaluation, which is another way of saying individuality, diversity, and conflict existed. Coordinated attack on problems did not come about in the short life of IAP, across the distances of geography, and among people new to each other.

Consultative Assistance and the Realities of School Structures

Whenever anyone uses words like "the realities" of some phenomenon, we always become a bit guarded if not downright skeptical. When we speak of "the realities of school structures" we look at ourselves with some reservation, yet our perspective suggests two important ones in regard to technical or consultative assistance in the schools. First is the career orientation patterns of teachers and administrators and second is the informal subgroups or sub-systems with the public schools. Recently, Ortiz (1978) has summarized much of the field research in those areas. The original work was done by Becker (1951), Griffiths et al (1965) and McGivney and Haught (1972). Careers of teachers have been defined as pupil oriented, subject oriented, benefits oriented, and GASer oriented (getting attention of superiors) by Griffiths et al (1965), and as moving to better schools vs. becoming permanently adapted to slum schools, to reflect both vertical and horizontal mobility. Identification of the "ten settings" projects intersection with such patterns seems a major inquiry issue. The intersection, alterations, and up-setting of these patterns with court ordered integration seems another major theoretical and practical issue.

The sketching of the realities of the informal patterns of administrative organization in central and district offices seems critical in the same sense. McGiveney and Haught (1972) suggest divisions between personnel and finance subgroups oriented toward the superintendent and board and supervisory subgroups oriented toward schools, principals, and teachers. As Ortiz (1975) summarizes:

> The subgroups just described were a central part of the policy development, implementation and delay since they served as the means by which proposals were developed, presented and accepted (1978, p. 127).

The sub-systems, if we are to believe their data, are important functioning units, which like informal organizations from the days of Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) have a function of protecting the members from severe changes in the formal organization. Such groups, like all face to face groups, develop perspectives, belief systems and norms. The interactional structures tend to be major sources of satisfaction to the participants. Changing those informal aspects is neither quick nor easy. In particular, the Southwestern City effort kept running into these dimensions of schools.

4. ARTICULATION

Introduction

In IAP's lexicon, articulation is the linkage between the data and ideas generated by the field workers in the ten settings and the help that was to be given by the consultative assisters in the two new settings. Both manifestly and latently, IAP, at one level of abstraction was moving into the heart of one of education's most difficult problems--the interplay of theory, research and practice. Not only is it a chestnut, and a difficult one, it's one that is receiving considerable attention throughout social science at the present time.

For several obvious reasons, our account mostly stays fairly close to the data, occasionally taps some immediately relevant literature and conceptual strand, and even more rarely tries for a specific thrust of our own. Roughly, this includes, first, the search for a paradigm, that is some of the preliminary, midstream, and late attempts to think through the set of problems. Second, the establishment of the Formative Evaluation Group, an internal assessment group which studied IAP as an on-going knowledge development-linkage-utilization system (Task 6 in the original contract). And third, some elements or items, more implicit than explicit, that we saw in the system that might be important. We would phrase them as fragments toward an articulation theory.

Articulation:
The Search for a Paradigm

Within IAP, a series of creative thrusts were being made into the articulation problem. As we listened to the various people talk we thought we heard subtle but important differences in the construing or defining of the problem, in the place the problem fit in their career serial, and in the centrality of the issues to their personal and professional makeup. In our view, one of the tragedies of IAP was that these perspectives never achieved a synthesis. Why not? The systemic sets of reasons are the givens, the ideology, the conflict, the administrative logistics, that is, the interplay of the key themes back upon themselves.

The Critical Activities Conception

One of the leaders of IAP talked fluently and easily of the history of IAP and of the importance of the Critical Activities conception. In his words:

> This was at a time when I was really thinking a lot about how you could do research and structure it in such a way that you were

looking towards its application in a systematic way, rather than doing research and figuring out how you could apply it later on. And I had some ideas about that. At that time I was very interested in consultative assistance as a vehicle for, both for changing schools in general and for using the results of research, because I was convinced, based on what we had done at City High, that even if you collected real good information that you had every reason to think ought to be relevant to people who were trying to build some kind of innovation, that once, if you only fed the results back to them either in writing or in some kind of a little session, that it had very limited effect on what they were doing...

Also another problem that I saw was that any time you study innovations you tend to get a very large proportion of failure and the successes are relatively few, so a lot of research on innovation, information involving establishing a new institution is a record of difficulties and problems that people haven't mastered. And so I was interested in figuring out, and we had this experience at City High, we became I think pretty competent in predicting why things wouldn't work and explaining why things wouldn't work. But for a person who's trying to build a new institution, that information is of some use, but the really valuable information is information about how you can do it,. rather than how it fails. Like if you're trying to involve students in decision making, how can you accomplish that, rather than what are all the reasons why it usually doesn't work...

I started a project where we worked with several alternative high schools. We did some fairly short site visits to them, about three or four days. And then we were trying to figure out how that information about what was going on in these schools, what the problems were and so on, could be made useful to the people who were involved in the schools, and I came up with this idea which we called critical activities...

Well, we came up with a list of activities. The idea was to take the kind of complicated research information that we had developed and to organize it in terms of things that people did in schools... We worked with the people in the school to try to write things in terms that they could say, yeah, that's something I do, or that's something I could do. Then within each of these activities we began to analyze what are some options for carrying out materials from the different schools about how they did these things, scheduling information that they used, etc., etc. And so it was taking the kinds of complex, qualitative information that you get from observing and interviewing, organizing it in terms of things that people actually do in the school. Another advantage of it was that, let's say that very few people had had success in maintaining a program support and autonomy within the school system. We felt that this was a very good, or I felt that this was a very good mechanism for going out and saying, well here's an important thing that people want to do. Of the several schools that we're looking at, has anybody been able to do this? Or do you know of another school where they have been able to do this? So that within the generally negative information that you get about how people weren't

> able to do this, you could begin to identify people who were doing something successfully. And so this concept of critical activities was, when I wrote the IAP proposal, supposed to be the link between the research and consultative assistance. (TI/Y5)

Along the way, the critical activities conception got lost. Its author had other things to do both in the Applied Research Center and in the Inquiry and Assistance Project. The project expanded rapidly. Alternative ideas and organizational structures entered into the discussions and activities. The conflict in leadership between Roy and Randy arose and dissipated time and energy of both men and deprived IAP of some of its richest sources of experience and intellectual power. The formative evaluation group ran into problems of trust--who is spying on whom for whose gain? No successful competitive idea arose which captured the imagination of any large portion of the staff. Figure 8.13 summaries this series of events.

Insert Figure 8.13 about here

The Conception Midway

In an important document, midway in the life of the project, one of the leaders commented this way. The ideology of IAP extends beyond the usual referents of individual, group, and society, that is, a kind of social ideology to the nature of IAP's tasks themselves, a technical ideology. Consider the following remarks by one of the leaders on the nature of IAP, a year into the project:

> Out of the historical context we see two ideas emerge that are important for understanding the rationale behind IAP: 1) that knowledge about effective practice is useful for supporting change in improvement in schools, and 2) that past research and intervention activities have not been very effective in enabling knowledge to be utilized by practitioners. (PD/Y4)

These two central tenets--past research has not been effective in improving the public schools and practice oriented inquiry, that is, identifying and studying instances of current successful practices can give direction to the efforts, was widely shared by the FEDs, by ARC and GPC, and by multiple levels of personnel in the IAP organization.

The highlighting of difference, of uniqueness followed in the same paragraph.

> IAP differs considerably from many previous research or education change project sponsored by federal agencies. The IAP goal is not to evaluate and judge programs attempting change in urban schools to find the most efficient program; nor is its aim to institute more effective programs in urban schools. Rather, its purpose is to study possible ways to increase the effectiveness of research and intervention approaches for the use of the practitioner.

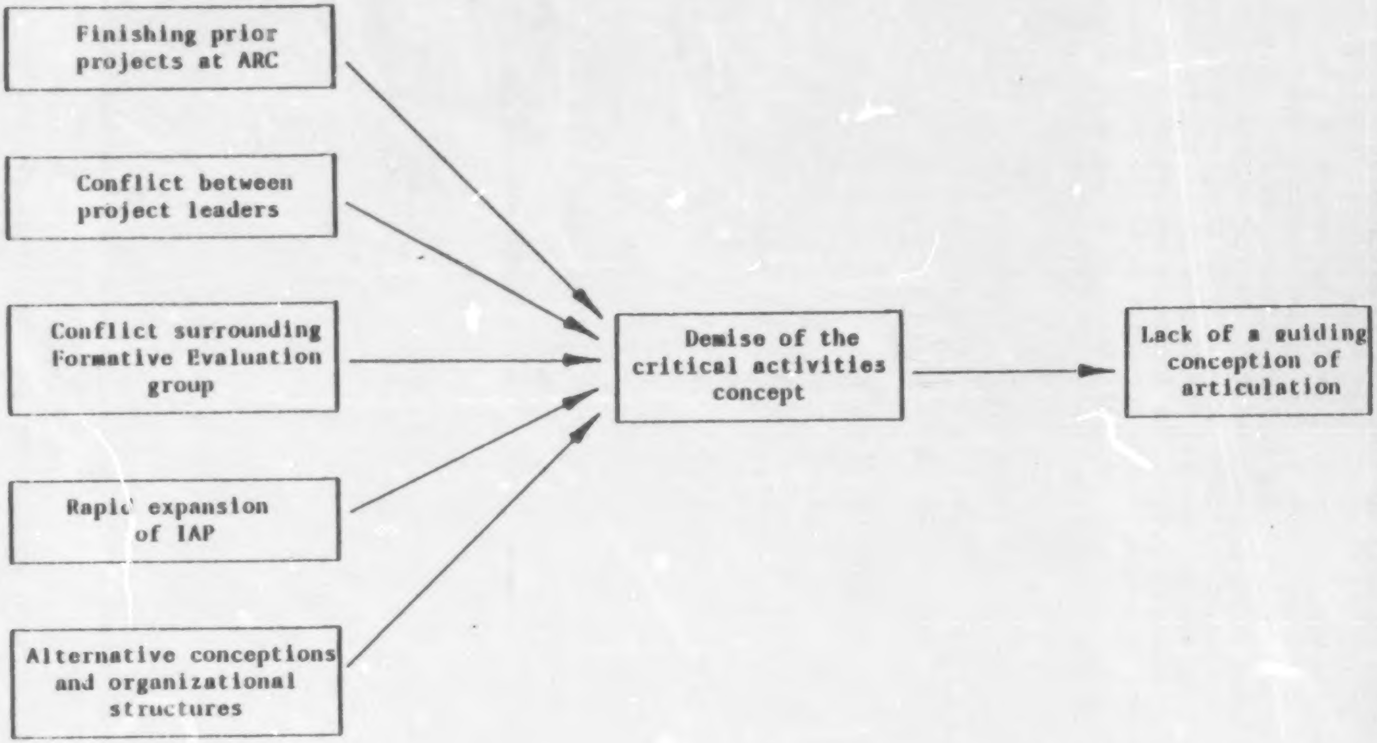

Finishing prior projects at ARC
Conflict between project leaders
Conflict surrounding Formative Evaluation group
Rapid expansion of IAP
Alternative conceptions and organizational structures
Demise of the critical activities concept
Lack of a guiding conception of articulation

Figure 8.13 Early Problems in Articulation

And finally, a strong call to action was sounded:

> Thus, IAP must be bold in experimenting with different concepts of research and intervention techniques.

The action itself contained a kind of reflexiveness or self analysis:

> IAP's contribution to the development of knowledge about educational change will be the study of its own action in creating links between practitioners using research and intervention techniques. Thus, the design of the project calls for action and then research of that action.

Following upon this was further specification, proposed criteria for judging project outcomes.

> This design requires us to have two levels of criteria for judging the effectiveness and progress of IAP: (1) the work in transmitting knowledge about practice directly from one group of practitioners to another group of practitioners must be judged by its utility to the practitioners; and (2) through the study of its own action, IAP must also be judged by the contributions it makes to the understanding of the knowledge utilization process among urban schools. (PD/Y4)

How one implements those criteria in a concrete specific instance became a difficult problem and a continuing source of conflict between IAP and the FEDs.

Three Selected Views on the Results of Articulation

Scattered through our data and other parts of this monograph are views by participants of aspects of the articulation or linking of knowledge to practice. They provide a concrete flavor to the broader conceptual hopes of the project. Early on, an inexperienced site researcher made this comment:

> I judge, from the good start we have as a group, that we can accomplish IAP's task--to assist schools! I also think our "audience" (Sites, user schools, FED, etc.) will be able to relate to our trials and tribulations, watch our development and growth, and laugh at our mistakes and misunderstandings throughout the research process. (PD/Y2)

Later, midstream, one of the FEDs expressed his concern over another aspect of articulation--linking the case studies to the literature.

> Connection of plans to experience of others. In addition to the concern, noted just above, about the completion of certain reports and documents, we are concerned also that the work on those reports and in the general design of the research and utilization activity, draw on prior work beyond the two Centers, ARC and GPC. In particular, we see little evidence of much systematic effort to

> understand (if only to reject) prior organizational research, as a part of designing the substantive framework to guide data collection on innovative processes and impacts on Task 1. While your earlier studies are doubtless useful in thinking about Task 3, as well as much past experience of both Centers, we hope that other research and project efforts with both intervention and information-use can be reviewed while Task 3 plans are still malleable. It is of great importance to the FEDs that the work of this contract be "placed" in a context of other work in related areas, and that similarities, differences, and (we hope) substantial advances on the state of various arts, can be clearly noted in plans. (PD/Y5)

And finally, a field researcher commented retrospectively in one of our interviews:

> To me, IAP was a--almost non-reality. And Phase II articulation was non-existent except for that one letter from Western City. The rest was very disappointing. I had absolutely no articulation, and I said that from day one. (TI/Y5)

The Formative Evaluation Group:
An Organizational Mechanism for Generating Articulation Theory

The Inquiry and Assistance Project created a formal mechanism, the Formative Evaluation Group, to act as a study team to document, describe and conceptualize articulation, the processes within IAP itself. It's problems were a close duplicate of most of what was said about the Inqiury team in the first part of this chapter and do not need repeating here. Briefly two items need mentioning: the leadership of the group and the dilemmas around any internal assessment. In IAP these were interrelated.

The initial director of the Formative Evaluation Gruop was a co-founder of ARC and one of the leadership group of IAP. He had multiple duties besides this assignment. Early on his other responsibilities kept him from active development of the Group. Later, when the team was pursuing its objectives more directly and vigorously, he was in the middle of the leadership struggle in ARC. Concerns were expressed in labels such as "spying" regarding that conflict and the growing conflict between ARC and GPC. Where internal difficulties exist, information is akin to power, trust vanishes, suspicion arises, people begin taking sides and concerns are felt regarding "formative evaluation," the study of substantive issues in their organization context over time. When the inquiry technique involves participant observation, the ethical problems become even more difficult and acute.

Later the leadership of the group's activities was given to a relatively inexperienced young man. As with the settings in the Inquiry phase of the work, this was not the spot for someone who had not done a considerable amount of ethnographic work. He, in turn, was supervising a group of similarly inexperienced observers. The quantity and the quality of their work was criticized by other IAP personnel and the external reviewers. The problems of mismatch of jobs and people were raised by several participants, as were problems in politiking in the internal struggle within ARC and between the Applied Research

Center and the Group Process Center. One outside reviewer critiqued a major report by the Formative Evaluation Group this way:

> This is not a useful report, and I learned little from it... The report is free of any details, examples, incidents, or actual events related to what's happening in Southwestern City or Central City. Consequently, general statements lack reality and force.... (PD/Y4)

Other comments were of the same order.

Several ideas were on our agenda but we were not able to get to them. First, Bureaus of Institutional Research have been around colleges and universities for some time. We have never worked for one, nor do we know the literature about them. If our analogy is apt, those Bureaus must have faced many of the problems the Formative Evaluation Group encountered. There must be standard solutions to the standard problems which could form a basis for a more creative reconstrual of this kind of internal assessment. Second, since Scriven (1967) distinguished between formative and summative evaluation considerable experience and lore has arisen among educational evaluators over the problems in formative evaluation (e.g., Hall and Thurneau, 1975; Smith, 1976 for discussion of experience at CEMREL, one of the NIE supported regional laboratories).

Item Fragments:
Problems for an Articulation Theory

Throughout this monograph we seem to be dealing with "...fragments, toward..." one kind of a theory or another. At times that seems a function of IAP and at other times our own limitations. But mostly we believe it's the difficulties inherent in the magnitude of problems which IAP had posed for them in the RFP and which the staff posed for themselves. Research, theory, and practice don't go together easily in the abstract nor did they in this concrete instance.

Information, Experience, and Productive Learning

Throughout this monograph, and our research activities with IAP on which the monograph is based, we have found ourselves alternating in involvement and detachment, the stranger and friend roles articulated by Powdermaker (1966) and Bruyn (1966). Nowhere was this sympatico feeling more apparent than in an IAP analysis of ways to make infromation more useful to practitioners.

> ARC and GPC have examined their past experience in providing information about practice to practitioners, and directly assisting practitioners in solving their own problems; and after taking into consideration the usual practitioner complaints about the utility of research, we were able to identify three characteristics which we expect will increase the utility of information for practitioners.

> These characteristics are:
>
> a. The information should be based on a description of specific concrete events. Generalizations based on actual events may also be useful. Information should be collected with the intent of describing actual day-to-day activities, not evaluating or judging the project.
>
> b. The events at a site must be described within their social context. For example, description of a curriculum-planning process which does not consider the social dynamics including ideology and power within which the specific planning process took place will be less useful for people at other sites trying to consider the validity for their school of a particular set of events at another school.
>
> c. A description from the perspective of project participants will be more useful than a description from an outside perspective. Practitioners often feel that information produced from an outside perspective is not relevant to its complexities of day-to-day activity. Any school will include several perspectives on what is happening. The greater the understanding of the variety of perspectives, the more useful we think the information will be for practitioners in other settings.
>
> The research methodology for the Inquiry part of the work was developed from these assumptions about what characterizes useful information. (PD/Y3)

On several occasions we have written with similar intent and focus (Smith, 1967; Smith and Geoffrey, 1968; Smith, 1979). Further, and perhaps most significantly, the present monograph exemplifies the three metatheoretical positions--it's contextural, it capitalizes on the internal perspectives of the project members, and it's concrete. It's more though--too. That is, the context is both historical and contemporaneous. The inner perspective is multiple as in Rashomon. It is concrete in several ways: excerpts of multiple lengths, kinds and sources (notes, documents and interviews), and vignettes of several kinds, as well as a long narrative. It's also theoretical. But all this is not our point here.

Rather, our point is the additional ingredient that usually goes by the name of experience. That is, how is an experienced teacher different from an inexperienced one? How is an experienced school principal different from an inexperienced one? It has plagued us for years, a real splinter under the fingernail (e.g., Smith and Keith, 1971, pp. 393-396). We think it is an important underanalyzed and under conceptualized issue in a theory of education. We think it was fundamental to the IAP project. For instance,

1) the FED officials had little experience with a project as large and complicated as IAP;
2) the IAP project directors had never managed a project like IAP in size, scope, complexity;
3) the middle echelon supervisors were inexperienced;
4) the field researchers were inexperienced;
5) the inside formative evaluation group was inexperienced; and
6) the consultative assisters were split--half with great experience in group process consulting and half with limited consulting experience. The urban schools were a mystery to many.

Our theoretical cut into the problem is the concept "productive learning," that is, learning to produce something. Our preliminary thinking grew out of an analysis of outcomes in a charcoal drawing course (Smith, 1976). At one level the point is very simple, the act of producing something requires a particular organization of perceptions, of ideas, of feelings, of skill (e.g., motoric in art, interpersonal in teaching and administering). The implications raise important criticisms of Ausubel's (1963) reception learning and Gagne's (1968) hierarchy of learning among others. Similarly the nature of schooling and curriculum can be reexamined. But that is not the point here.

Our point here is that the very framing of the issue as "knowledge utilization" or "...the more useful we think information will be for practitioners..." misconstrues the issue. The parallels and analogies to the arts, to crafts, to psychomotor skills seem more potent. The kind of knowing that occurs in the doing of these activities is the critical ingredient. The kind of educational activities and relationships are caught more fully with terms such as experiential units, apprenticeships, workshop hours of practice, and levels of play (Sally league, Double A and Triple A and major league ball). A myriad of related conceptions also appear regarding motivation, e.g., "She's really into X," aptitude, e.g., "He's a natural athlete," and so forth. In short, the shift in focus which we're arguing for has a host of implications well beyond IAP as a federal project. To carry this further we would pursue issues in tacit knowing (Polanyi, 1966), suchness knowledge (Maslow, 1966) expressive behavior (Allport and Vernon, 1933), muted cues (Halpin, 1966), and unobtrusive measures (Webb et al, 1966). It is not knowledge utilization but productive learning which is at issue--at least in this proposed kind of reanalysis.

Learning from Case Studies

In an earlier project, "An aesthetic education workshop for administrators: some implications for a theory of case studies" (Smith, 1974) we speculated on the impact of case materials for changing the perspectives of administrators. That analysis seems relevant for the present discussion of articulation.

> If "convincing administrators" means attitude change and if attitudes have affective, cognitive, and behavioral components then it seems both possible and desirable to look at the elements within the case studies for their contribution toward this change. Figure 8.14 summarizes the analysis as an inventory of determenants. Each item will be illustrated briefly.

Insert Figure 8.14 about here

> The case studies, particularly those from the school districts have a quality of undeniability. That is, someone is actually doing something; it is not hypothetical. As such cases accumulate, in varying settings and with varying support, personnel, and rationale; it becomes difficult to excuse one's own inaction. It forces one to back off from his "rationalizations" and to confront the basic choices and dilemmas in values underlying his decisions in his district.

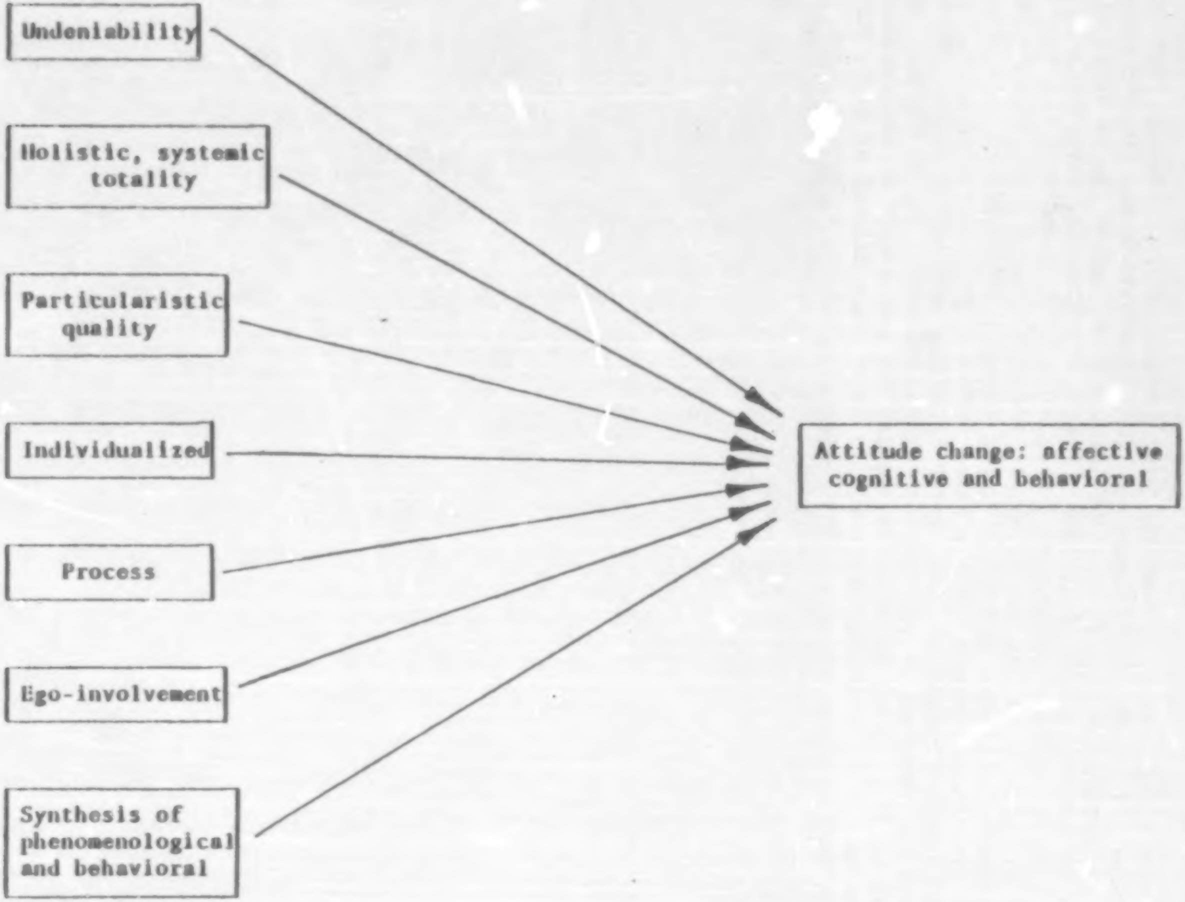

Undeniability
Holistic, systemic totality
Particularistic quality
Individualized
Process
Ego-involvement
Synthesis of phenomenological and behavioral
Attitude change: affective cognitive and behavioral

Figure 8.14 A Genotypic Analysis of the AEP Workshop as Case Studies (from Smith, 1974)

Second, the case studies are "totalities," that is they have a "holistic" or "systemic" quality. By their very nature they contain or attend to all the elements. For instance, the Jefferson County illustration which we presented with some detail made reference to resources, personnel, community relations, goals, strategy, tactics, work effort, perceived strengths and weaknesses, and so forth. Similarly each artist we encountered presented a life style with attendant components--goals, needs, presses, actones, proceedings and serials.

Third, a cluster of elements seem summarizable as a particularistic quality. There is concreteness, vividness (particularly in the hands of a good story teller), and detail. The nooks and crannies of a phenomenon, an event, an experience are explored. This seems to be Maslow's (1966) conception of "suchness meaning" or "experiential understanding":

> experiential understanding is content to rest there within the experience, not going beyond it, savoring it and getting the taste and smell of it in that direct way. This is the kind of understanding that the sculptor has of clay or stone, that the carpenter has of wood, that a mother has of her baby, that a swimmer has of water, or that a husband and wife have of each other. And this is the kind of understanding that is ultimately impossible for the non-sculptor, the non-carpenter, the non-mother, the non-swimmer or the non-married, no matter what other resources of knowledge may be available (1966, p. 89).

Fourth, and I hesitate to use the label but no other comes readily to mind, the case study can be individualized. Each person can clarify the similarities and the differences in his own setting, his own organization, his own personality. With even minimal discussion he can ask the questions which "bug him," work through the immediate perceptions of possible difficulty "at home," test his experience against the elements of the case.

Fifth, the case studies accent process, change over time. This has a particular utility for "men of action," persons who want to do something--administer, supervise, or teach. Data are revealed on where and how one begins, implements, and terminates. The critical decisions at each point in time are highlighted, along with such elements as alternatives, prediction systems, subjective probabilities, value systems, utilities, costs and benefits.

Working on one's own problem, project, proposal, or case, as occurred in the major activity of the workshop, brings in elements of participation and ego-involvement, items which have been highlighted in the attitude change literature. At Aspen there were further and related group processes, "a friendly competitiveness" among the teams, and an overall supportive atmosphere in the developing group structures. The point here though is that will-of-the-wisp, ego-involvement. Case studies from one's own experience easily arouse such processes.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the case study synthesizes productively one of the major dilemmas in contemporary social science. It blends the best of dichotomies such as "action/meaning," "inside/outside" perspectives and "behavioral/phenomenological" analyses. Comments and questions on a case focus continuously on the experience and its meaning in the best of the Blumer (1969) and Bruyn (1966) tradition. Similarly, comments and questions demand a behavioral analysis--who does what to whom in what sequence and with what consequences. An analysis which would warm the heart of a Skinner (1948, 1957, 1959) or a Homans (1950, 1961). Although the formal concepts and many of the not so latent biases of the theorists are often missing in such discussions (unfortunately in terms of the former and fortunately in terms of the latter), the participants were working their way through these problems as they dealt with the case studies.

Now, several years and the Inquiry and Assistance Project later, we see a number of these issues more clearly. In particular, to conceptualize adequately what is learned from a case study, requires a more sophisticated conception of the person than usually appears in educational and psychological research. In the various IAP case study repoits, secondary analysis, and testiary analyses we found fragments of a point of view. Our own evolving and cumulating position suggested additional aspects. In addition, our attempts to synthesize a half-dozen diverse positions has left us with Figure 8.15. A similar view of

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Insert Figure 8.15 about here

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the varied learnings that might arise from policy research has been sketched by Rein and Schon (1977). Very neatly they turn the usual analysis on it's ear and speak of "problem setting" rather than problem-solving or decision-making. In effect they focus on the definition of problems in a way reminiscent of N.R.F. Maier (1942, 1957). In this redefinition or problem setting several processes are highlighted by Rein and Schon: 1) framing and naming, 2) generating metaphors, 3) story telling, and 4) mapping, modeling and theorizing. The categorizing or putting a perspective on a problem often has action implications. Generating metaphors helps one see implications and reason from the familiar to the unfamiliar. In story telling the logic of the story, the inner necessity of character and action, arises and leads one to see tacit aspects of the situation that otherwise might be missed. Finally, maps, theories and models stir all kinds of hidden aspects both structurally and causally in social analysis. In short, learning from case studies has a host of problematic aspects which received minimal attention in IAP, yet which seem relevant from a more distant and disengaged perspective.

The Limits of Field-Based Research

Ever since we began our own field-based research we have been enamoured of the idea. The labeling of the approach by Atkin (1973) caught the distinction between field-based and discipline-based inquiry. The comments by members of the FED raise for us important questions about the limits of field-based research as they commented regarding the 100+ proposals which resulted in the selection of the "ten settings" to be studied by IAP.

5. Metatheoretical
   1. World view: contextualism vs. formalism, organicism or mechanism
   2. Action: is/ought
   3. Format: sensitizing/configural/covering law

4. Espoused theory: formal
   1. Dramaturgical/personalism

3. Espoused theory: substantive

   theoretical/general/abstract
   1. School organization
   2. Policy
   3. ...

2. Theory in use: descriptive

   operational/specific/concrete

1. Actions: units: specific/generic

   episodes
   sequences/proceedings
     personal
     interpersonal
   serials

Figure 8.15 On What Is Learned In a Field Study: Changes In An Individual (after Smith, 1979)

> Look at the marginal kinds of grantees we ended up with...

And,

> ...by and large, the proposals we got from school districts were wretched.

The question we are raising is simple--do the public schools or the education establishment more generally (of which we are a part as well) contain the kind of talent necessary for generating the exciting ideas of reform which can be studied profitably from the field-based perspective?

Such an hypothesis cannot be tested in our data. A comparative analysis of professions (medicine, dentistry, law, social work, civil service) and a comparative analysis of organizations--hospitals, businesses, social agencies, government bureaus, prisons--might provide relevant data. The point we are trying to make is the raising of very diverse hypotheses which seem latently possible in the events, comments, reflections of the people with whom we worked.

The wave of research in studying events in natural settings whether called ethnography, participant observation or field study, assumes that interesting, exciting, important events are occurring "out there." If one's goal is "improvement" and if the assumption doesn't hold then projects such as IAP may be flawed irretrievably in conception as well as in practice. Such hypotheses have significance far beyond this particular project.

5. CONCLUSIONS

At this point, we have looked internally at IAP itself, to see it as a microcosm of the larger problems in urban education activities which it hoped to address and solve. In part, this is in keeping with our more general orienting hunch that many of the issues in urban public education also were issues internal to the Inquiry and Assistance Project. In part, also, it is our belief that IAP never addressed and resolved a number of underlying issues that their charge implied. For instance,

1) the general or specific nature of consultative assistance;
2) the nature and kind of inquiry into urban problems; and
3) the nature of substantive knowledge about urban schools, their structures and processes.

More abstractly, IAP was in the domain of the interplay among practice, research, and theory, one of the oldest and most difficult problems in professional education.

Sociological theories of organizations and psychological theories of individuals have often been not only separate but distant domains. When one tries to develop a consultative assistance team to work as an educational organization within another educational organization, complications arise. Further, when the changes vary from changes within particular individuals to changes in relationships among individuals--dyadic, small group, or subsystems--further complications arise. In part, IAP's charge mandated a consideration of those events. As we have indicated, one of our initial perspectives was that IAP was a microcosm of the problems in urban education. Nowhere was this more visible in the attempts of the organization to cope with the development of it's several roles. The case studies, specially in their early drafts of the urban innovations were slow in being finished, were described by reviewers as boring and uninteresting, and were felt to contribute little new to the understanding of public schools.

In documents, in interviews, and in our collegial participant observational role we encountered the tangled snarls of issues and events in what we came to call "Consultative assistance: it's nature, amounts and direction." At one level, our problem might be phrased, "How can one improve IAP's capacity to solve field research inquiry problems?" At another level the question might be phrased, "How can one teach an individual how to be a better field worker?" What we did here was isolate "problems" that were observed in this part of the organization, specify them in detail, speak to remedies that were tried, and look to consequences. In a sense, the questions keep turning back on themselves and demand a theory of articulation.

In short, we are looking at IAP's capacity for problem-solving in the area of field work. We are defining a problem as a discrepancy between what is and what ought to be. Capacity is the ability of an organization to look at itself, define and redefine it's problems (that is, those discrepancies), to create alternatives toward solutions, and to implement those alternatives as organizational mechanisms, that is, to give itself consultative assistance. IAP had these problems; the urban public schools have these problems.

And finally we return to our central theme of federal policy in action. The specific activity structure, in this instance, inquiry, consultative assistance, and articulation, becomes the final concrete specification of the policy. Organizational structures were created, individuals were hired to do specific jobs. As they interpreted and carried out their responsibilities, sometimes creatively and some times incompetently a kind of ultimate meaning of policy was indicated.

Chapter Nine

The Dynamics of Conflict[1]

1. PROLOGUE

On occasion it was said briefly.

> I wasn't really interested in knowledge utilization the way the project was set up....I didn't believe it could happen....I thought I was never heard because we always ended up being at a meeting where the "leadership"...white, male leadership was running at some abstract, complicated level, and they weren't interested in schools. (TI, Y5)

On other occasions and by other individuals it was stated at greater length.

> And it was a class thing. Some were used to dealing with middle, upper--upper-middle class, and some knew how to deal in that kind of cocktail party. There are certain no-nos and yes-yeses that you learn sitting in your mother's lap. And if you didn't learn it then, then you don't learn it. And I mean it's like using the right fork, and not making noise when you sip your soup, and that kind of thing. And I think in GPC that is important. And I think in ARC it is too and that's the myth.
>
> They are so liberal, and so Lady Bountiful--like that they will not admit it. I think I always felt that in Central City, the big white fathers felt that they were doing us a tremendous favor. I always felt that. There was something in the attitude that they somehow felt--that somehow they could sit back in their conferences and say, "Isn't this wonderful? We have all these blacks and all these minorities and all these women here, aren't we great? We're giving them the opportunity to do this. WE are giving THEM the

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[1] Here, as in other aspects of this report, neither by intention nor design do we take a "holier-than-thou" or a "finger-wagging" approach. Both of us, in our home organizations, the GIE at Washington University and the University City and Clayton Public Schools, have been involved as key actors in conflicts which were as intense and as serious as any in IAP, and which had elements of visciousness and nastiness which we find painful to recall. A psychoanalytical reader might well see us trying to solve some of our own conscious and unconscious problems in this analysis.

> opportunity." I just always felt that. Sort of like a paternalistic attitude. Almost like the white missionary going into another Congo. And I thought it was very funny, um...at one point. I got very angry at another point. And I finally said, "Damn it. That's the way they are." I don't--I never felt that we were really taken seriously. And they had all this mock collaborative decision-making thing, which, I think, it was mock. I don't think any decision was really taken collaboratively. And I think GPC was much more straight-forward about the whole thing. But see, I don't think it was so much--I don't think--it was--it was male and it was race and it was class and it was academia, you know, it wasn't one thing. It was the Ph.D. vs. the no-Ph.D.s, and it was a structure thing. You know, the higher-ups vs. the lower-downs. It was a whole bunch of things that made for that dynamic, and it was a total denial that those things were there. In most organizations, there's authority, and there's a person that has the authority and there are people that don't have any authority. And policies are recognized. In ARC, and the whole IAP project, "You are all equal. All are wonderfully equal, and you call each other by first names." But we weren't equal. All right? It was a mock situation. And that's what I think made people angrier. It's difficult because, there were so, so many variables tangled there. I think it's too simple to say, "Well, it was just black and white." (TI, Y5)

Perhaps the most significant reality in the tangled conflict of governance, race, and minority issues lies in the original leadership of the two Centers and the individuals who conceived the Inquiry and Assistance Project and who wrote the proposal which was funded. In the words of one of that group:

> We got together, and I don't recall though, whether there was a face-to-face meeting or just was over the phone, but the primary actors were Roy, Randy, Rich, Paul, and Larry. And that in a way comes back to haunt us later in IAP, because you see there are five white males that wrote it all. (TI/Y5)

If that was the high status, power, and management, then the rest of the organization contained disproportionate numbers of blacks, minorities and women as laborers, or as they sometimes called themselves, "field hands," with the bite that self-characterizing humor often carries.

In this chapter we are caught in the problems of having to write linearly about a tangled skein of ideas all of which need to be presented simultaneously. In a fundamental sense, conflict represents the unraveling of the ideology and this discussion grows naturally out of that earlier discussion. But conflict arose as people were hired to do specialized tasks, to actualize the structure of activities. Hence, this chapter grows out of that too. Finally, much of the managerial coping was an attempt at conflict resolution. This discussion leads to that end.

2. INTRODUCTION

Most definitions of social conflict stress incompatibilities and disagreements between people--their wants, interests, ideas, beliefs, values, and actions. While accounts have been written on the social functions of conflict, our analysis will accent dysfunctions. The scope, magnitude, and intensity of the conflict which pervaded the project, left us searching for causes and reasons, for items and elements, to untangle the complexities, and finally for means and mechanisms useful in doing something about the conflict and its negative consequences. Most of the latter we leave for Chapter 9, the discussion of management and leadership. In Figure 8.1 we have outlined the multiple overlapping and interacting strands of conflict. Each of the parties which came together to form IAP, at one time or another, and in some instances almost continuously, were in conflict. Within IAP as a unit, the work roles and positions--inquirers, consultative assisters, internal documenters and managers--all pursued different interests at different times. A series of "issues"--sex, race, ethnicity, power, social class, ideology and rural-urbanism--polarized the organization on a number of occasions. A number of individuals fought vigorously with other individuals. Perhaps the most critical of these was the "Roy/Randy Conflict," the struggle by two of the founders of ARC for leadership of the Applied Research Center, the formal contractor for the Inquiry and Assistance Project. One can index the magnitude of this conflict simply--Randy left midstream in IAP to found a new organization. Eventually a half-dozen ARC employees joined him. Finally we found a few "prickly personalities" who conflicted with a number of their colleagues along the way.

Insert Figure 9.1 about here

An overview of one central line of analysis indicating the dysfunctions of the conflict appears in Figure 9.2. By unresolvable conflict we mean individuals and subgroups incompatibly continuing to hold to their own activities, interests and goals and the relegating of project goals to a lesser importance. An array of consequences followed--personal stress, multiple unsuccessful interventions, and increasing difficulties with task accomplishments. The continuing conflict in conjunction with other events led to minimal project goal attainment, and eventually led to an inability to develop knowledge utilization implications, to personnel departures, and to contract termination.

Insert Figure 9.2 about here

Organizations

1. FED and IAP
2. ARC and GPC and Eastern City Branch
3. ARC and IAP

Role and Position

1. Inquirers and Consultative Assisters
2. Internal documenters vs. everyone
3. Managers vs. labor

Issues

1. Sex
2. Ethnicity
   - white vs. minorities
   - black vs. Hispanic and others
   - black vs. black
3. Power (labor and management)
4. Social class
5. Ideology
6. Rural-urban

Individuals

1. Roy and Randy
2. Several prickly personalities

Figure 9.1 Multiple, Overlapping, and Interacting Strands of Conflict

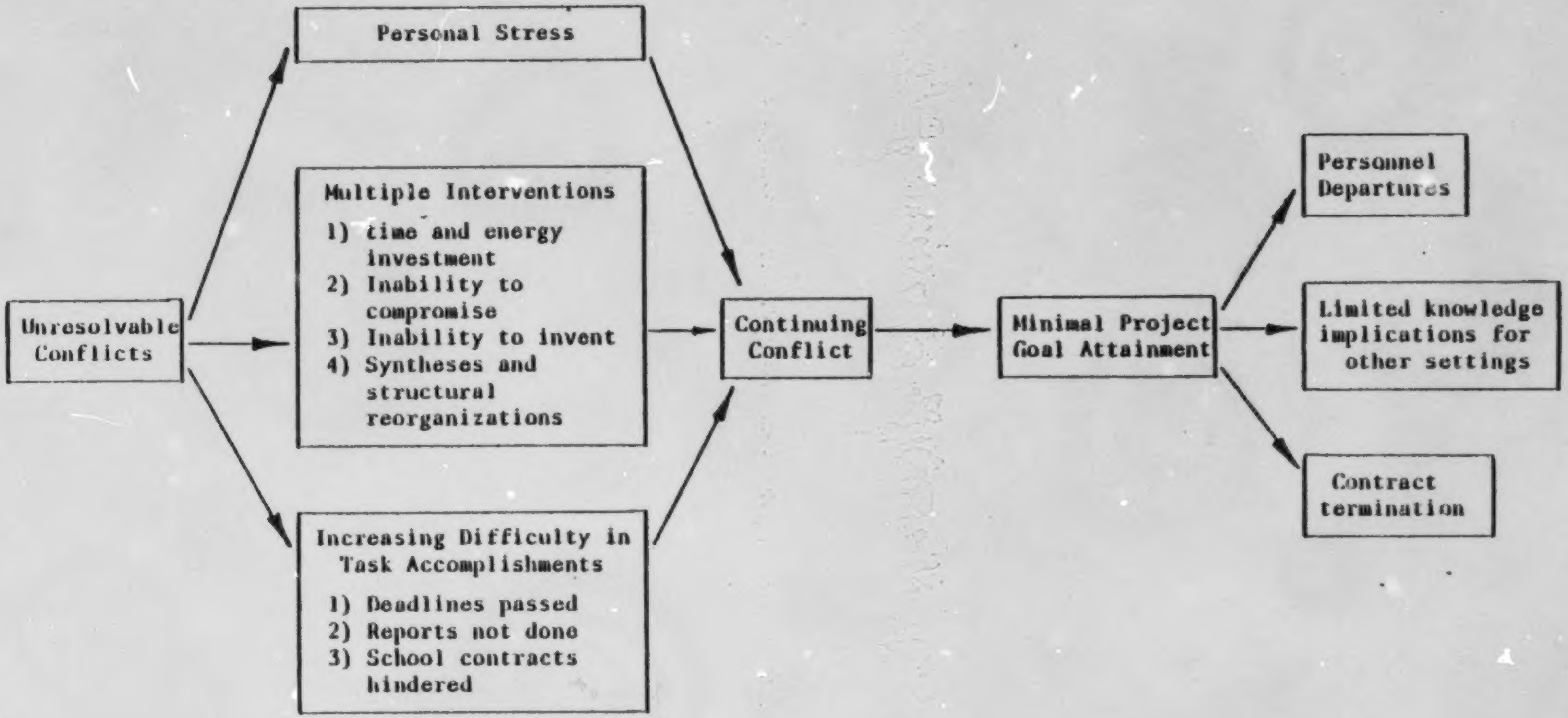
Personal Stress
Unresolvable Conflicts
Multiple Interventions
1) time and energy investment
2) Inability to compromise
3) Inability to invent
4) Syntheses and structural reorganizations
Increasing Difficulty in Task Accomplishments
1) Deadlines passed
2) Reports not done
3) School contracts hindered
Continuing Conflict
Minimal Project Goal Attainment
Personnel Departures
Limited knowledge implications for other settings
Contract termination

Figure 9.2 Unresolvable Conflict

The conflict theme intertwines provocatively with the ideological and "group think" themes. Part of the interrelationship has to do with time. Early on, in what we have called Year I, the talking, planning, proposal writing time before the contract was awarded, a cohesiveness, an ideological congruity, an excitement pervaded IAP, especially among the five central leaders. As new people came into the project and as concrete tasks had to be accomplished that core commonality was diluted. Even so, the central members were reluctant to criticize before the project had a chance to prove itself. As subgroups developed, the perspectives did also. Some remained relatively impervious. The ideology remained intact, particularly among the leaders, even though some of the IAP personnel began to see it from their point of view as more words than deeds, "a mock situation" as one of our interviewees expressed it.

3. COMBINATIONS AND STRANDS OF CONFLICT

In the space available it is impossible to deal with each of the combinations and strands of conflict indicated in Figure 8.1. Rather we try to capture both variety and importance. While some conflicts tend to be presented here from a single point of view, the alternative positions appear at many other points in the report.

The Complexity, Depth and Entangled Nature of Conflict: A Perspective on Governance and Leadership

Often, it is assumed that RFPs and their responsive proposals, and the initial dialogue between the contractors and contractees, which also takes a written form, as we have indicated, would spell out the basic goals, tasks, positions, lines of authority, rules and procedures, that is, the formal organization of projects such as IAP. Our descriptive account has cast doubt on the simplicity of that process. We present here a long excerpt from an interview to indicate that a number of elements were in conflict, that they continued into the project, and that they raised a variety of very complex dilemmas for the management of the project, particularly as the management decisions played themselves out in the context of the ideology of the project, the component organizations, and the individuals in the organization. One staff member began the account this way as their perception of IAP unfolded.

> Field Researcher:
>
> I wasn't going to start work immediately because I had to take a break and go home. That was the most important. So, um... we left it pretty much at that, and I can't remember what the details around it, but I think within a few days, I decided to make a commitment--an official commitment to the project, saying that I would work. But, personally and privately, I thought that if I did go home and felt a compelling need to stay, I would then inform them that I had a compelling need to stay and wouldn't return. But, I said, "Yes." And I began--I went up to the workshops a couple of times and read all the voluminous IAP materials at that point--describing the project, and describing the relationship between ARC and GPC. Right from the very beginning, I had fairly strong feelings upon reading the work--reading the description, that it was a massive and undo-able project. I felt it was really too massive to be productive, too massive to really learn anything of great importance. I also had some misgivings about the GPC part of the deal more than I did with the ARC. I was--I felt that ARC was--had been involved in grass-roots efforts in education. I knew their background at City Alternative High and so on.

The scope of work as described by GPC to me seemed--I don't know, seemed naive really. I think if you had undertaken grass-roots work in education, and I had done that before...

Kind of community organizing kinds of things. Community organizing within education. I just felt that you couldn't do a talk-down, extremely laid-out kind of approach. I think the approach--I felt from my own experience that the approach had to be intimate and personal all the time. That involved very small interactions, as well as large ones. But I didn't feel that the large ones were necessarily conducted in the way that was described by GPC. I felt an organizational approach as opposed to an approach which saw the interactions among people within organizations, but with the emphasis on people within organizations. At the same time, I was being aware that organizations did affect the way people worked. But people do transcend organizations. I felt that was very--I felt that quite strongly. I must say I didn't have--I felt somewhat uncomprehending of GPC's position, I felt it was naive based on very little direct experience with school people.

Uh...so I had some basic--a basic lack of sympathy with GPC even before I met--before I went to Western City which happened soon--in the middle of July. It was supposedly an orientation program. Well, at Western City, and we all come to this with our own separate perception--our own different perceptions, I had read the materials, I felt, quite thoroughly, and I saw it as within the first orientation--it was in the first pre-orientation meeting. I remember it was a morning. I think Rich--I think Rich and Roy and Larry spoke briefly at that pre-orientation meeting. But, the tone of the pre-orientation meeting was that there were these people who had--that there were these people, i.e., us, people who had been hired, who had come to a meeting to be taught certain things in order to do what was projected to be done. Which was not entirely clear yet and had not been explained yet, except in written form. And, it was a fairly clear explication, but nothing much had been said yet. And um...it very difficult--very difficult for me to remember exactly what--I remember the feeling around it, I remember the tone of it. I can't remember exactly what was said, but I do remember at that first meeting, I said that I didn't--I had come to hear what people who had designed the project had to say, but I was also interested in asking some questions about those of us who had been hired and to find out more about that. And I had some questions about the plan itself, I mean the plan--the program as outlined, the scope of work as outlined was something I had quite basic questions about. And I would rather--I would rather than go into an orientation session, have a meeting of the participants themselves around questions that the participants themselves wished to raise, and which we would then bring to the people who have hired--who appear to be leaders in the project, and then we could talk about that. And I said basically I had questions about the use of--the collection of data, the use of data, the control of data--by people who had collected it. By people who were supposed to be collecting it, that is, us. And I wished to discuss that among my peers. Well, that did, at that point, change the schedule of that meeting, because we did meet, and we did air our questions, and we did bring them to the leaders of the project.

> And, I already, you know, I felt that as a result of that--I think as a result of that, but also because I think I do get terribly interested in things that I get involved in. I do have an almost, almost obsessive interest in things I get involved in, even though I may be marginally involved in them at the beginning. But, and that happens with people and with things. And so that's a personal trait, but also I got very interested in how this thing was going to work. And I felt that even that perhaps one could do something about making it work better. Making it work in a more useful way. My approach to research is that it should be of value and of implementable use. I'm not particularly interested in a purely theoretical position. (TI/YS)

In analyzing these comments, one might note 1) the accent on "commitment." Working for IAP was not just taking a job; 2) an independent assessment of several aspects of the original documents and materials[2]; 3) a strong stand, personal position about ideas in the documents growing out of that analysis; and 4) a willingness to speak out toward the reformulation of the project.

Many members of IAP were sophisticated group process specialists with techniques often used in training sessions with businessmen, educators, and community leaders. One such activity, the fishbowl technique, produced quite varied reactions.

> FR: Well, uh...there was an example of--say at the February conference, I mean this is an example that everybody's quite aware of because it was--maybe it was the high point in the whole discussion. But, there was the phony setup of a fishbowl activity in which people were supposed to come together to make a decision, and then another person was injected--a leader in the project--really, now this is second-hand because I wasn't one of the members of the fishbowl, but what came out later was that people really felt that they had not been able to make a decision collectively, and their own activity was undermined because it was necessary to have a leader to shepherd them into a discussion--into a decision. The decision could not be left to the collective--to the collective, to the group.
>
> OBS: You were saying something about the leadership.
>
> FR: Yeah, I'm saying that it was considered necessary to inject a leader into that group who was a leader of the project, but to assume a leadership role in the group even though he--she was not part of that group that had been set up to make the decision. Um... it was done in an indirect way, so that the group was not aware until it had been co-opted, and then it was very difficult for the group to accept that. Not only accept it, but to have even a mitigation of strong feelings of resentment about it because it was a point of almost of no return in that sense. And I think

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[2] It's important to re-accent that this is a retrospective interview. We don't have data from that point in time.

> the people who were directly in it must have really experienced that much more strongly than I did, who was an observer of what was going on at that time.

The focus shifted from technique to a more underlying issue in leadership roles and their dispersion or centrality. In turn the comments turned to another illustration, of the role of leadership and collective discussions and decision making.

> FR: But I also remember a very small instance, and of course one remembers things that pertain directly to oneself. But I remember there was a discussion at the February Conference one morning--I can't remember exactly what the discussion was, but, at some point I remember saying, "Well, we have very few opportunities to be together, so uh...we have very few opportunities because of the distance for us to be together. And therefore, it seems like because questions are being raised in the large group at this time, we should continue to stay in the large group." Now the person who was in charge of process, and I detest the word, but the person who was in charge of process--no, and then there was agreement in the group that it should be so, among the participants. Several participants said...
>
> OBS: In a large group.
>
> FR: Yes, we were all in the large group at that time, and several questions were being raised about a lot of basic issues, very basic. Issues about who's doing what, you know, things like that. What does the formative evaluation team do? What does the consultative assistance team do? How have they started even before the data had been gathered? I mean there were some very, very basic things. And I noted that and said, "Well, you know, we don't have any opportunity to talk together as a large group, and so perhaps we should stay and do this because this is what's happening right now." And several people said, "Well, I agree." Maybe three or four people said, "Well I agree." And the person who was in charge, the leader who was in charge of process--well, this was a conslutant who had been brought in, said--was in charge of process and continued with his process. And several people remarked upon it afterwards. And I remember that, and I remember that quite clearly. In a way it showed, in a very small way--it showed in a very small way something which is so hard to explain, I think, it's so hard to explain because it isn't necessary that people have to have a radical view. Or people have to have the same theoretical orientation. But it depends very much on how you consider another person and their--and whether what they say is valuable. There may be even a basic arrogance in ignoring the collective view, I mean that doesn't require a radical approach or a theoretical orientation. It means that there is a lack--there's really a lack of acknowledgement that what you espouse contravenes what you actually do. You make process into a fine art, but the moment a process is suggested if it hasn't been planned by you, it doesn't get into effect. And so there is a lack of acknowledgement that there is a conflict between what you work on theoretically and what you actually do.

At this point the interviewee compared and contrasted leadership in an earlier project experience with IAP leadership. In so doing they extended the depth of the problems.

> FR: You know, the impressions that I give you of just both of my earlier experiences and observing a group of people who worked really very effectively together and where in those discussions I never--almost never--experienced the feelings that I experienced when I was a member of IAP project. As an observer at the earlier experience I felt so much of the so-called process was appropriate to its own work. A thought that just came to my head was partly because of the fact that people had been drawn together from a lot of different places or whatever, but even so, the leadership was very difficult to accept, and by that I mean--I don't mean I can't take leaders, but I mean the leadership was difficult to accept in that there was no natural leadership.
>
> OBS: In the IAP in contrast to the other?
>
> FR: In the IAP project, yes. I mean the reason she was the leader of the earlier project simply because she's a genius. She is a genius as a result of long practice in her field. She is an acknowledged leader in children's reading. She has worked as an elementary school reading teacher for years and years. And at all the different levels of the project this was true. The leadership was based on expertise, on proved--proven expertise. And this was very difficult to accept in the IAP project because the leadership could not be acknowledged.
>
> OBS: Talk a little more about that specifically.
>
> FR: Uh...I'm saying that it might have been a function of the fact that none of us had a shared history together, and therefore, this historical time spent together was not there, and therefore had not yielded a leader. But, even so, even not having had that time, during the project, during the span of the project, which is not inconsiderable, there was not a natural leadership. It did not emerge. I don't know whether it was because the structures militated against the emergence of a natural leader, or set of new leaders, because that may well have been--it was, the structures were fragmented and dispensed with. For instance, things like the articulation group or other kinds--different groups came up and dispersed.
>
> There were phases and plans which surfaced and disappeared. Things at different stages were called different things. There was an attempt to create catch-words, like "Synthesis." As if they were new--as if to say that they were not supposed to happen before. As if "Synthesis" was something that you created overnight, and then dispensed with by the time the next phase came rolling around. It just seemed that the structures perhaps would have militated against the emergence of natural leaders. I think that's all I have to say on that point.
>
> OBS: Let me push you a litter farther. What were the problems with, if they weren't the natural leaders, the un-natural leaders that were there?

FR: Well, I think I've kind of said that--I think the natural leader--the official leaders, the designated leaders, did not appear to have any leadership qualities. There was nothing that recommended them particularly as leaders in my estimation. I think people wondered--responsible people wondered why they were leaders in the first place. I think it is quite possible that the massiveness of the project prevented the designated leaders from taking truly effective leadership positions. I think it's possible that that could have happened because it was difficult to be visible and efficient. I mean, it was just extremely difficult and consistent. Things, you know, documents were promised which never arrived. You were supposed to be called and you were never called. Somebody was assigned to come and meet with you about something and you were never met. I think the size was a real problem there. I mean, I'd really have to give that as a possible reason because I can't take the position, because it isn't consistent with the way I think, that the leaders really had no wish to lead, and they did wish to--and the participants did wish to participate, but there was a feeling of frustration--I felt certainly frustrated sometimes. I felt that things that were supposed to happen never happened.

OBS: In that chain that say runs from the top down to local people, would you make that same kind of comment up and down the line?

FR: Oh, I suppose when I talk about leaders--that's a good clarification question because I felt that--it really applied to the top eschelon at that point. And uh...there was an ethos in the thought. It wasn't--there was a lack of interest in getting things done. I felt it was a very inefficient project. There was--much less money is expended by the other project, and it's much more efficient in its delivery of services. And everybody had something to do and they did it. Data was collected and dispersed. It was a much more--I felt there was a far greater efficiency--I think the IAP project was a Faustian effort in the extreme. Again, because people didn't have a prior relationship possibly, and also, I think more important, that the structure of the project prevented people from developing relationships to conduct work in an effective manner. I think that was a problem. I think it's a problem of geography, I think it's a problem of structure, and I think it's a problem of leadership. (TI, Y5)

One of the most difficult and intractable conflicts for an organization is conflict over leadership and the governance structure. When participatory democracy is part of the ideology and when there is no organizational history, that is, the organization is new and doesn't have a constitution or a supreme court to adjudicate disputes, and when management is too inexperienced to use the formal contract for these purposes, problems arise. We have a model of this in Figure 9.3.

Insert Figure 9.3 about here

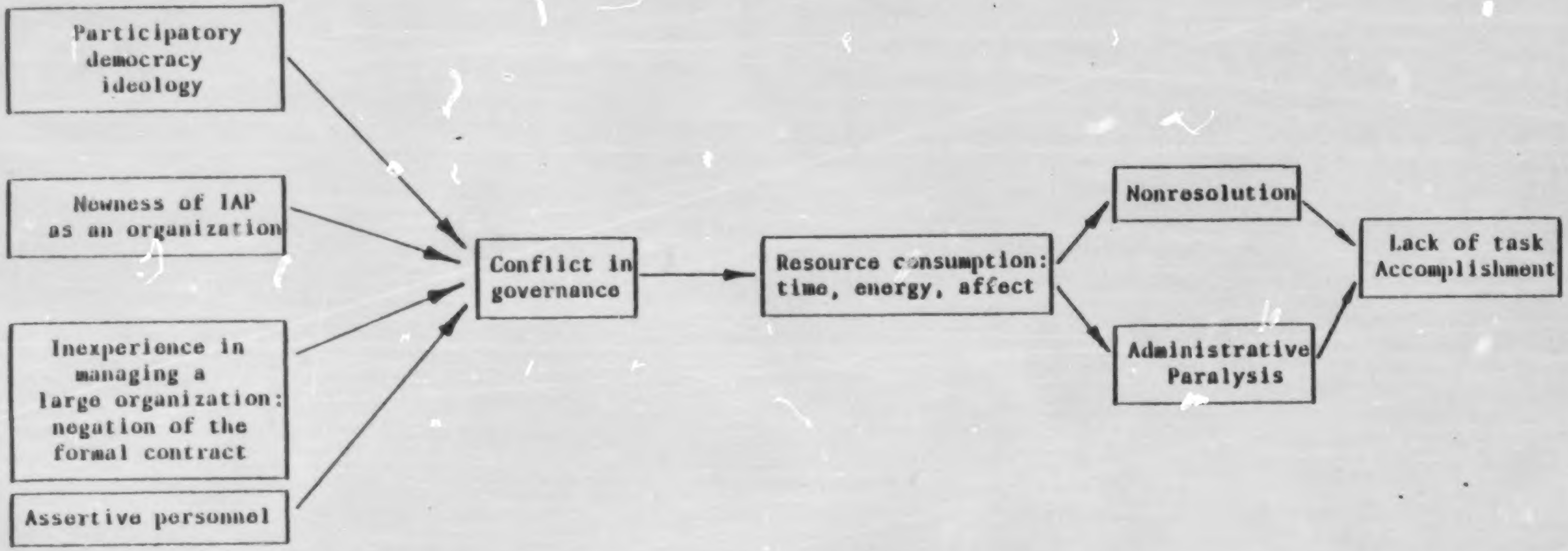
Participatory democracy ideology
Newness of IAP as an organization
Inexperience in managing a large organization: negation of the formal contract
Assertive personnel
Conflict in governance
Resource consumption: time, energy, affect
Nonresolution
Administrative Paralysis
Lack of task Accomplishment

Figure 9.3 Intractability of Governance Conflict

One of the members, long after the project was over, questioned us:

> Whenever we got together as a group in IAP, something happened. And usually, what happened was negative. Why?

Now, in retrospect also, we believe this mix of variables developed from the interview data and depicted summarily in Figure 9.3 answers that question. In effect, the field researcher we have quoted at length was rewriting the proposal in the guise of participatory democracy, and the leaders of the project were not able to cope with the challenge.

We saw the same phenomenon at the Kensington School. From that experience we have excerpted two miniature theories. The first focuses on what we called the upside-down authority structure, at least in contrast to most elementary schools. It is reproduced as Figure 9.4 here. The second reports on the principal's assertion of the December Rules, his attempt to formalize part of the school structure. In IAP, the attempts to centralize aspects of authority and decision making at the several general meetings seems analogous. If the FED's perspective is comparable to Central Office Criticism and if formal doctrine is roughly equivalent to ideology the parallels between IAP and Kensington are striking.

Insert Figures 9.4 & 9.5 about here

The fact that the templates overlay so strongly is frightening in at least one of two ways if not both. Are we seeing what we have in our heads rather than what's out there? Or, if it's really out there, then we may have some potency in our concepts and hypotheses that we had not expected in social action. The reader can review the narrative in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 in this report and relevant sections of Anatomy to make his own judgment. In our view, the long interview excerpt speaks eloquently, both implicitly and explicitly to the analytic interpretation.

Race, Sex, and Other Minorities

We, Smith and Dwyer, are white males. Writing about "race, sex, and other minorities" opens one to all kinds of charges and countercharges--of bias, inappropriate or restricted perspectives and limited data. Our data, here, as in the other conflicts, ripple about in multiple crisscrossing ways.

> I think the minority-majority issue became obvious also. I think it was a black and white issue, although it was not called that. It was pretty much, I think, as we did till the end, it was covered by a veneer of practitioners--those of us who had been in schools and those of us who haven't been in schools. But I think you could feel at that point that it was a black and white to a point. And, of course, that got worse and worse as time went on. (TI/YS)

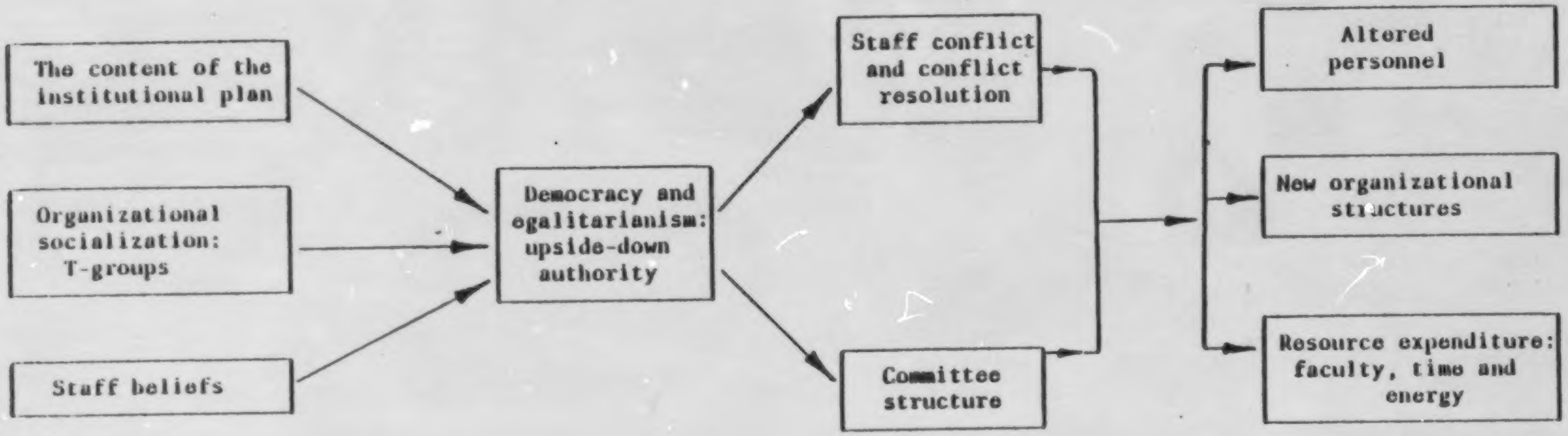
The content of the institutional plan
Organizational socialization: T-groups
Staff beliefs
Democracy and egalitarianism: upside-down authority
Staff conflict and conflict resolution
Committee structure
Altered personnel
New organizational structures
Resource expenditure: faculty, time and energy

Figure 9.4 The Aspects of Authority in Kensington During the August Workshop (1972, p. 249)

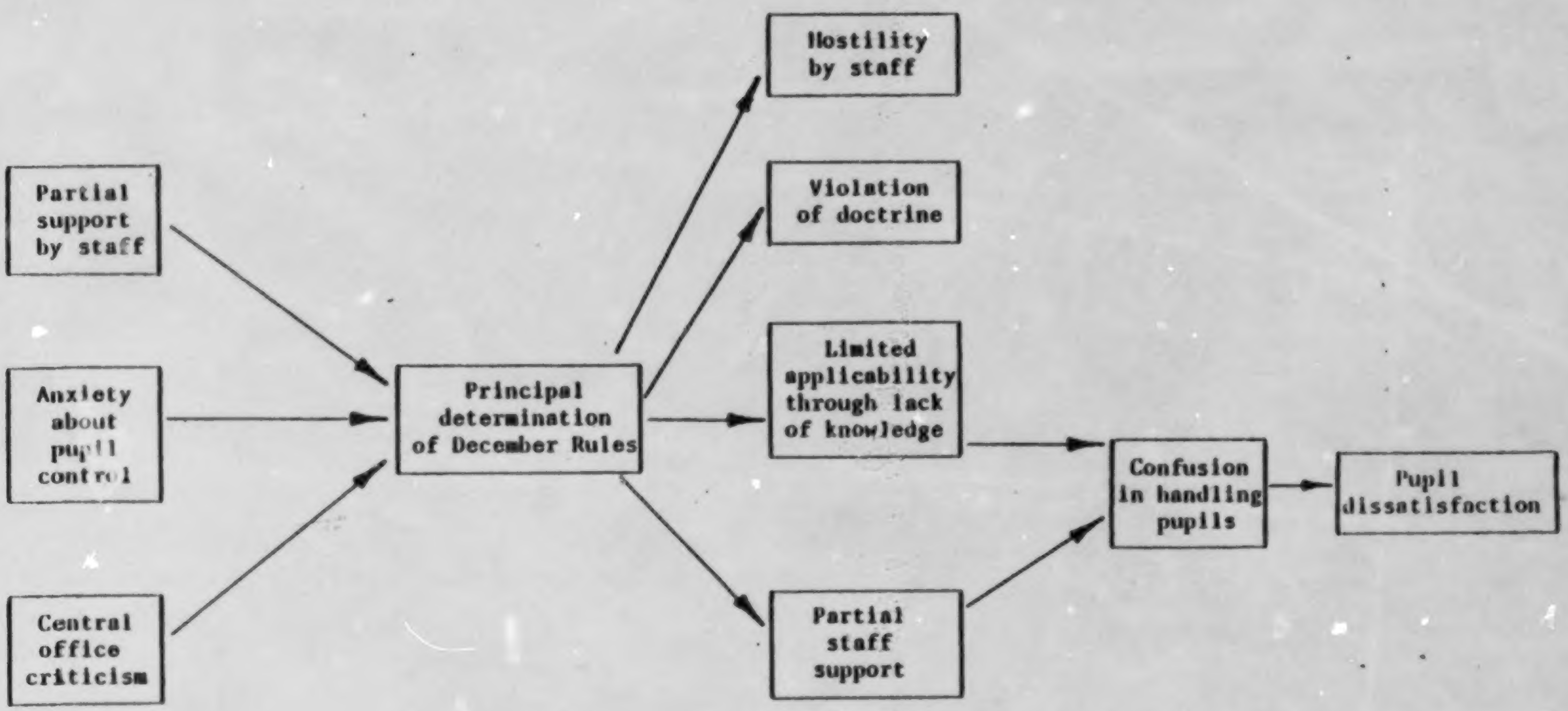
Partial support by staff
Anxiety about pupil control
Central office criticism
Principal determination of December Rules
Hostility by staff
Violation of doctrine
Limited applicability through lack of knowledge
Partial staff support
Confusion in handling pupils
Pupil dissatisfaction

Figure 9.5 The Antecedents and Consequences of the December Rules at Kensington (1972, p. 256)

From a number of individuals--male/female, black/white/minority, high/low status, young/old, we ran into a number of comments of that order.

The complexities, complications and subtleties of majority/minority relationships--race, sex, ethnicity, power--provided moments of peak experiences and moments of conflict, pain and frustration. Invariably, when project staff were asked what the major source of satisfaction was in IAP, they would reply, "the interesting people." Invariably, too, when they talked of project problems, interpersonal conflict would arise as a major issue--some of the interesting people weren't treating other interesting people as they should. The "shoulds" were tangled with individual and group perspectives.

Style

In one interview, as issues of race came up, the dialogue developed this way, about "style."

> OBS: Is it kind of an "out-of-touch" sort of position in both of those instances, is that what you are saying?
>
> IAP: It's funny when I'm thinking about it now. It's not out-of-touch, it's a different style. It may be, it may be the style, or you can make a generalization. This isn't...I don't have the label for it, but some of the whites, uh, professionalis of IAP. But, uh, I've seen it in many other settings...these other settings that I talked about. The caring, white liberal does not have the same kind of style, a style, connected this to, another ethnic group. Does not relate and talk and behave in the same way. Therefore, it may be unaware of that so there is kind of chasm, there is a kind of...lack of connectiveness. I'll give you another example from outside IAP. I'm not sure that I'm expressing this very well. They...uh, in this office right now, they just hired a white secretary. They had a temporary secretary before who was really a very sharp gal, highly competent. The staff right now is a black director, a black administrative assistant, and another black assistant. They hired three black kids, troubled kids who were in an inner city program. The parents are poor and all that kind of stuff. Uh, and they are constantly in trouble. They don't show up. They this and that. But they are very lovable kids. They have spent an enormous amount of time trying to assure them, about the important structure, and the structure by a caring relationship...to set expectations and be free to help them and to praise them and stuff like that. The gal who came in to, uh, be the secretary, uh, became very close with the rest of the staff and wanted to join...kind of join in this relationship with the kids. The kids are very outspoken, very street-wise, very hip. And she is uncomfortable with all of that style that was used with the kids. And the kids perceived it as a lack of sincerity or a lack of something in the relationship and...
>
> OBS: This was the white secretary or the...
>
> IAP: These are the kids that we hired. They just thought that she was a pain in the ass.
>
> OBS: (laughs) The white gal?

> IAP: Yeah, uh, and so we had...we spent a lot of time trying to talk about the fact that whites are not as always as free to... or able to be as explicit, or this white gal in particular, or feel as comfortable as we do saying the things that we say, and behaving the way we are behaving. And are not familiar with our language or our expression and things of that type. We did that unsuccessfully. But in any case, we did do that. That's an example of...she certainly cared, she made chocolates and brought presents for the kids and stayed late, called them when they were sick and sent cards and all those things that showed that somebody cared, but she never connected in the emotional way.
>
> OBS: She had the words but not the melody.
>
> IAP: Yeah, and there was a lot of that in IAP. (TI/Y5)

Non-Professional Professionals

Another illustration made an important distinction.

> There was another division of the staff. That is the...we are all professionals, but there are firsts among the professionals, the whites are first among the professionals. I thought that there were some very poor judgments made in terms of using blacks in field positions. What do you call those people that check where the Indians are? (laughs) Make the peace. Nothing would happen to you, but we hired blacks to go out to set it up and then the whites come in and negotiate the money. Uh, I found that very distasteful. Uh, I don't think it was the way that...I think that was the way the people believed it should be politically. Even if...I do think that in groups like this should use extraordinary means to, uh, to establish credibility. There were a lot...a lot of situations that weaken IAP that were...that I found constantly confronting me that were racial.

And later:

> Well, it was...it was...I mean, I thought that when IAP was really on the rocks we found ways to develop a new kind of structure which was much more representative of both the professionalism and non-professional professionals. And acceptable. But that came out of a crisis. And, uh, I didn't think it needed to. I thought that... when I think back it happened on occasion. I don't find it troublesome at all for professionals coming with different skill and backgrounds to learn from each other and to accept that as a purpose in a relationship. And although there is a lot of talk like that in IAP, the fact...that's not the way I saw it.

Contrasting IAP with a different position and organization extended the point.

> One of the things that I really enjoyed a lot in the new job has been the ability to work with people with different levels of expertise....Who I feel respect me, because I can do something they really don't know how to do. On the other hand, they know how to do something that I really want to learn. And there is no put down on that. I mean, there was no shame in that. I mean,

> we are going to have discussion about this is my thing, this is my thing, but, uh, being viewed as a professional kind of bringing certain kinds of things to the situation which you can share with each other. (TI, Y5)

Commitments and Priorities

While the split was not entirely along racial or ethnic lines the majority commitment of the black staff tended to be toward programs with direct and continuous involvement with children.

> That's what bothered me about a lot of stuff in IAP. It bothers me a lot about kids sitting in that classroom. The problem is so severe. And I'm not suggesting that everybody that goes to work in schools has to work seven days a week, 24 hours a day, but the answer is not (laughs) assistant principals' seminars for six weeks so you can write another book. (TI, Y5)

Concomitantly, there were contrary views within IAP. One such view captures the multitude of related issues, comparisons, conflicts, and problems as it bears upon GPC's program in Southwestern City. It was a reference back to the first presentation of plans.

> And GPC came out with the elaborate program. Half an hour or forty minutes giving this old gobbledegook about how he was going to run a seminar for assistant principals. I mean on and on. That was it. Uh, and then Beatrice got up with her pieces of paper...she had a real education program. I can't even remember all the things. She had five massive programs included. I thought to myself I don't believe this. That, uh, this was their idea. They were to go and make this presentation or whatever in Southwestern City. And what this constituted was about half an hour or an hour a week every other week for six weeks and then we were going to make this wonderful story out of it. Uh, I just thought that that kind of investment wasn't necessary. I mean we could have lived without it. There wasn't any analysis of what was necessary or needed for those schools. The schools didn't exist. They had a captured audience of assistant principals, and they were going to do this thing....

And a little later,

> But here poor Beatrice had been in her group while she worried about what the kids were about in that school. It was never mentioned in GPC what the kids needed, here she had some proposal ideas for making their life better that were overwhelming, but it was impossible...it was a major kind of effort...and here I felt, is someone doing a job on Beatrice because of her lack of professional expertise....And I thought they were offering this paltry, inadequate thing. (TI, Y5)

Walking Ethnicities

The perplexities of minority relationships appeared in the comments of one minority member about another.

> OBS: You mentioned your philosophies were different. An instance of that?
>
> IAP: Uh...well, I think mainly her feeling towards race. Um...I think that I don't see people as walking ethnicities. I see people as people. She relates, that's, you know, it's unfair because she fights very hard to be a universal person. And fights very hard not to be that way.

People who see every event as a racial event, or a sexist event, or a power event, (and those who never see it as any of these!) at a minimum, complicate organizational life. As we looked back at notes of IAP meetings and reflected upon the label "walking ethnicities" we found ourselves thinking of Foureizos, Hutt and Guetzkow (1953) analysis of self-oriented needs in discussion groups. Here was a whole new category of possibilities to go with his more psychologically defined categories, or possibly as antecedents to such needs as dependence, dominance, status, aggression and catharsis. Here, too, there was dissatisfaction with the meeting in general, decisions reached, procedures in the meeting, and with the leadership. As in that study, we wondered about how leaders and members might handle that kind of behavior and action more generally within an organization. Here we have been struck by the insight of Redl and Wineman (1957) working in another context and setting. The resources, the time and energy, the experience, the interpersonal sophistication in "techniques for the antiseptic manipulation of surface behavior" seem to be key variables. In general they are in short supply. IAP was no exception.

Quandaries in Hiring

The interplay of events and perceptions of events regarding race and ethnicity was as complicated in IAP as in any group of which we've been a part. Consider the following quotes selected from a number of our interviews with minority project personnel.

> Jim was not as competent as Edward to do the job, but we felt it was very important that we have a black, another black person on the staff. (TI/YS)
>
> Part of one of the scenes that I've been recalling quite vividly was June telling Randy that he was kind of a racist in reverse, put pressure on us to, with this affirmative action thing there's too much affirmative in the action. We're not hiring for competency, we're hiring just somebody. (TI/YS)

In an early meeting, problems of race arose in discussions and actions in hiring personnel. A follow-up note speaks to the problems.

> The racial hiring issue, as we discussed, is still not resolved, although I think the air has been cleared to permit a better discussion. Some issues that still seem to be there:

a. Given the best effort in Western City, will they be able to attract black staff members? They feel we didn't appreciate their effort to find people, but (the other side of the issue) no matter how great an effort they make, we can't go around explaining to people we meet in Eastern City about the demography of Western City....

b. GPC seems still hooked into a fairly traditional understanding of qualifications, phrased for example, "If a black and white candidate had equal qualifications, would you..." They don't seem to understand that an important qualification is to understand deeply what it means to grow up in a ghetto area... (PD/Y2)

Another person commented:

IAP: I guess one that always, in a sense, bothered me about IAP was, you know, an important attempt, although I think I was idealistic, to involve less skilled people in the area of research who were sensitive to cultural settings, cultural aspects of the studies, you know, we were studying. And the problems in that.

OBS: Of pulling that off, you mean?

IAP: Yes, right, right. The...I mean I think that's nice, but it was a bit...it was unrealistic, but I understand that ARC was caught up in, or I think I understand, I mean, the group at the FEDs...was projected to us. I know it was projected to me, as being this unique group of federal employees who were really concerned, you know, not elitists in terms of their credentials, and, you know, academic as well as government credentials, and da-da-da. So I think that kind of encouraged and reinforced this, you know, this idea about trying to get in people who did not have the skills to pull off the job. And the budget, the overall budget of, you know, IAP. And not realistically take that into account. You know, it's like here's an idea, but we're not going to provide you with the resources on the FED's part or the FEDs weren't going to provide the resources, nor was ARC going to request the resources necessary to pull that kind of thing off. And I think that's only because of the dynamics of grants, and, you know, bidding for grants and contracts. You've got to con yourself in order to be competitive. So we'll say we'll do the impossible in order to get it and then try to do the best you can for the school, community, etc. And government, too. That mess, I think, that caused a lot of internal problems, for IAP in terms of field researchers and research coordinators relationships. I know I went through an awful experience...ah...and probably better than most, cause I feel I was in that category of a lay person with some experiences, cultural experiences. But the frustration was just awful. And I think clearly the inquiry suffered in the areas where, you know, this situation...where we tried to pull off this situation. I think all I'm saying is, you know, good intentions just didn't make it and hurt, I think, more than it helped. And I think it's important that IAP somehow inform other liberal, well-intentioned, academic do-gooders of this fact. And, at the same time consider

> recommending to the unique so-called progressive governmental project officers who are in the position to recommend to congress or, you know, allocate their funds in the direction of providing innovative training situations which will prepare those who have the valuable street knowledge, cultural knowledge, etc., that will enrich and bring validity to the research which is often you know, very oppressive and repressive to people in my community and, you know, other minority communities which are often studied. That's all I have to say about that (laughs). (TI, Y5)

On another occasion, another black member of IAP commented:

> Okay. But to hire someone who's not competent for the job on the basis of skin color,...or to assign someone a position trying to bring visible kind of equity to a program would put a person at a terrible disadvantage. The worst position I mean...confirming racist attitudes, I think it's terrible. It's very destructive. (TI, Y5)

Unintended Insults

On several occasions events happened in which perspectives, motives, and personal reactions varied.

> IAP: There was a little bit of apprehension, and the blacks in the group took it very personally. Sort of like "because we're different, then they must like us." And it was--there were instances of somebody coming over to one black and touching her hair and saying, "You have pretty hair." and her taking it for a tremendous personal offense. It was like, you know, being very insulted by that.
>
> OBS: Was it intended as an insult, as far as you could see?
>
> IAP: No, not at all, not at all. It was really saying, "You have pretty hair." I think it was--in the light of all the other antagonisms, but I think it started emerging like that.

On another occasion after a different but similar incident, the perception was this:

> And I think the person next to me got it--who was black--took it as an insult coming from that place as if she had been offered Southern Comfort and chittlins, you know, or black-eyed peas or something like that. I think he lacked sensitivity, Christ, of course, and I don't know why somebody with his intellect would not have the amount of sensitivity to go with it. I think he's probably a well-travelled person. I think he's probably, you know, a sophisticated man. So, I really don't know. I think it was a mistake, definitely. And I think there were a number of mistakes like that made, during that whole conference that I don't think were evil or bad-intentioned, but I think it set a whole dynamics and a whole tone. In a number of peoples' minds. Maybe I'm being very naive, but I really don't think he intended it as an insult, I really don't.

And then there were contrary items:

> I think that a lot of what happened throughout IAP was that what was really a personal and professional antagonism was made also into a racial thing. For instance, I don't like her. And I don't like her for a number of reasons, both personal and professional. It doesn't have anything to do with the fact that she's black. Absolutely nothing to do with that. But it has been said that it was because she was black.
>
> OBS: What are the dimensions of her that rubbed you wrong?
>
> IAP: Um...I have very ambivalent feelings about her because on one side I admire her tremendously for a lot of things that she's doing. I don't like the way she's doing them, at all. I think that--I think she's a user and I think she's an opportunist. And I usually don't like users and opportunists...I did not like a lot of the under-handed things she did, she was extremely manipulative. Um...and I think she started a lot of dissension within the project. Um...a lot of close-mindedness. Um...she provoked a lot of racism, I think, in people who were ambivalent. She pretty much got into the position that only if you're black can you understand blacks, you know, which knocked off half of IAP from ever doing any research in that community.

The Everpresent Environment

> OBS: What did you see of that [racism] in Western City? What was the instance that would come to your mind?
>
> Participant: There were a number of things. I think that--well, there were instances of racism in Western City. Not by the ARC people, but in the city. Like, okay, one night, Rich--I think it was--several of us went into Sambo's and we were supposed to be joined by the other guys. And a waitress came over and asked--you know, heard us talking and asked us where we were from. We said, "Different places." And she said she was from New York originally, but she had come here to avoid the "niggers." And at that point one of the blacks walked in, kissed one of the gals and asked her for five dollars. And the woman almost dropped dead. We had to change of waiters at that point. And I think this kind of situation where we were aware that Western City was not the most open-minded city in the world, and a lot of us were, know, of different colors and looks, etc. and so forth, made us very aware of that kind of thing. And it sort of like emerged as "We're bringing color to Western City and these people have never seen us..." And it was very obvious that there was a feeling that this is not the kind of people they've been working with before.

The "Prickly Personality" Complications

Several individuals kept reappearing in our interviews as difficult persons to work with--by colleagues, by leaders, by others, within and across power, race, sex and age groups.

> S/he is the kind of person that, from my point of view, sees things in blacks and whites, and in goods and evils. And I don't see the world that way. Nothing is entirely good and nothing is entirely bad. And so-and-so can be a bastard sometimes, s/he can be very nice sometimes. And I can like and dislike a person at the same time, and not feel terribly uncomfortable. And I don't have to hate somebody or love somebody. I can sometimes hate them and sometimes love them. And s/he doesn't work that way. S/he either loves you or hates you. S/he is too nice to you or awful. And I feel very uncomfortable that way. No, I feel very uncomfortable that way, sort of like, you know, either s/he smothers you with love or s/he insults you. And I'd rather have sort of like a middle of the road kind of "you're supported when you deserve to be supported and you're told off when you do something stupid." But not this kind of thing, you know, like I do not understand being fathful to death when you know that the other person is doing a very stupid thing. Okay? I mean once, you know, you can be faithful to the person but say to them, "Look, you're really--you know--putting your foot to your waist. Stop." And you know, s/he has this loyalty to the end. And even his/her whole relationship with so-and-so betrayed him/her ...went all the way out on a limb for her and s/he shouldn't have gone all the way out on a limb, damn it. It was wrong to go out on a limb for her. S/he shouldn't have done it. It was wrong. But, you know--in that sense I think we rubbed each other the wrong way a lot, because I just couldn't understand that. And you know, it was just--I think in a sense I told him/her a lot of times that it was cultural. Um...s/he didn't understand about social conventions at all. And s/he told people off in public. And I just couldn't understand this very aggressive, "You son-of-a-bitch" because you don't do that, you know. And s/he couldn't separate the social from the personal and the professional kind of thing. And I'm not saying I don't say to people what I really think, but there's a time and there's a place. And I just was embarrassed by him/her a lot of the time. And I didn't know how--you know, and I ended up being at meetings with him/her a lot of the time, and I ended up picking up the pieces a lot of the time. And I just felt that s/he always said the wrong thing at the wrong time to the wrong people. (TI/Y5)

Similar personality characteristics were attributed to several members of the project staff. Without question they were an interesting part of IAP's diversity. Without question in the perceptions of most of their colleagues, they contributed to the conflicts within the project. In our view, the most serious part of this was the inability to separate the prickliness from issues of "race, sex and other minorities." For instance, it was never easy to say simply, "You're a prickly, burry, difficult person." It frequently was "a prickly black," "a prickly white," "a burry woman," or "a burry man." The dynamics of that was both fascinating and tragic.

The FED's and IAP

The Lower Echelons

An interview moved on to the relationship between project officers, field researchers, and several persons in the IAP administrative structure.

> FED: I'd like to say a little bit more about my lack of relationship with the field researcher. At that point I was willing to just open up everything, show it to him, talk with him about it, have him come here and spend a day or two where we could talk clearly. We talked a little but no great depth and I felt that generally the IAP people were very patronizing toward our offers to share perceptions and information. They seemed to perceive that as a need on our part to be included in the process of the effort.

Still later in the interview.

> OBS: I don't want to break into your chronology or your line of thought, but I'm hearing minimal conversations with site researchers, brief contact with supervisors on an occasion or two, and a longer but limited in a sense of an hour's conversation with a later supervisor and I guess just to finish out that strand, any intensive conversations with anybody else in the project?
>
> FED: No.
>
> OBS: No? Not with the leaders particularly?
>
> FED: I've met him but I've never had anything described as an intensive conversation. He was present when the original site agreement was negotiated.
>
> OBS: Your experience atypical of the other project officers?
>
> FED: My perception is not. I suspect you'll check that and I think that it ought to be checked. (TI/YS)

A field researcher, working with a project officer, commented in similar fashion.

> FR: One thing that bothered me throughout the whole thing was that our relationship with the FED project officers. After I had written the case study, I was told that I should have used them because they were such an incredibly good resource for my case study. After... at the time I was hired, I was told never to talk to them, except about superficial things because they were like the judge, and you never tell the judge everything. A couple times I was called because I have been too candid with them.
>
> OBS: Now who's telling you this or calling you?
>
> FR: One of the supervisors. But I'm sure it didn't come just from them. I'm sure that they were mouthing other people's feelings. I always felt that the FED project officer was somebody to keep at arm's length. And tell them as little as possible about what the site was really doing. Cause I wasn't there to spy for them. And my setting was very uncomfortable because my site was very candid with them all the time, and 90% of the time they knew what was happening before I did. Or at least at the same time. Um...and I think that strained my relationship with them tremendously. Cause I mean they knew I wasn't being candid with them, or asking as I should. And what I ended up doing was avoiding them like the plague. You know, if I spoke to the person maybe five times the whole time I worked with the project was too much. And that was never talked about, because I was told afterwards that I should have been closer to them and drawn on them. (TI/YS)

The New and Complicated Relationship

The interviews keep poking at specifics and at attempts to resolve the problems. A conversation continued.

> OBS: So in a sense, you're reporting just very minimal contact with IAP people.
>
> FED: That's right.
>
> OBS: I guess I'd be interested in how you tried to deal with that. Did you bitch to a supervisor or did you and again I'm not quite sure of the mechanisms within FED to handle that kind and maybe if you talk a bit about that and contrast it with other projects or other events that will help illuminate it as it were.
>
> FED: I don't know if I can contrast it with anything but I can tell you how I tried to handle it. I talked with Joe about it early in the process. We had a meeting with all of our contractors and grantees and at that time we had an opportunity to talk with some of the IAP people separately. I voiced a concern that as IAP came on the scene we wanted to share with them as much as possible what we had seen and also we would like to have a substantive discussion with them to the extent that that was permitted by the kinds of agreements about confidentiality and the like, to the extent that that was consistent with the notion that IAP was not to be an evaluation, the results of which would be fed to the project officer on the basis of that action might be taken by the project officers toward grantees and we didn't want that to happen at all and I didn't know how to resolve that dilemma I simply shared it. The reaction of that was very negative, the reaction on the part of a research coordinator was that we were the feds as far as she was--you're the feds as far as we're concerned we don't trust you and we're not about to share any information with you. I have to say that that policy was carried out--what happened subsequently was not inconsistent.
>
> First, roughly we decided that in order to get some communications going among our contractors and grantees because we were in a relatively new area the investigation was the way we were framing it and so forth. We tried to get everybody together and explore some common themes and so forth, and just before that process began because we had some IAP people there, because this relationship was just developing we decided we'd have a separate session just talking between project officers and IAP.
>
> OBS: Who all would be in that group?
>
> FED: Virtually the entire staff with a few people from IAP, as I recall. This was just this new thing that's going on. It's obviously got some complicated relationships. Let's begin to build a relationship because there was some rhetoric in the RFP about the nature of this relationship being different from the typical government/contractor relationship, there was to be more communication and collaboration and the like. That rhetoric had been honored in the response to the proposal and everybody was still saying, "Yeah, let's develop a good positive collaborative relationship."
>
> OBS: Everybody here or everybody everywhere?

FED: Everybody on either side. By everybody I mean I believe that we all felt that these were people that we like that we were comfortable with. We have a sense of some shared values and orientation as well as that they had done the nicest job on the proposal so far. I think my sense was that Roy and Larry and I can remember at least those two saying similar kinds of things, not uncharacteristic. So this meeting, this early hour meeting was the first point at which I had the sense that things might not be that way, might not turn out that way. That was an unpleasant experience.

OBS: There was both drama and strong affect and I know about as much about it at that level and I'm trying to reconstitute how the meeting went and so on.

FED: The only thing that I recall is that I shared, I decided, well, rather than try to think through how to handle this dilemma alone I'll just share the dilemma with these people and we talked about this way of approaching that dilemma.

That's right. And meeting here a day or two before this. Everybody said, "yeah, let's go ahead, we're a little uncomfortable, but let's take that risk." It was one of those, where you take a risk and it turns out to be a genuine risk. What I did was I formulated the dilemma, I said this is our situation and she responded to that by saying, "Fuck that," and that was it.

OBS: She apparently took the lead on that from what you said.

FED: She did and there was no response from anyone else.

OBS: The leaders didn't intervene at that point?

FED: No. There was no clear signal to the contrary. Roy may have tried to smooth things a bit, there was no stigma, well, in fact, this is an important point, let's talk it through and see how...

OBS: Nobody of the order of the FED leadership intervened at that point in a way that made any difference? No intervention or difference?

FED: I don't think anybody knew what to say. No intervention, there's no intervention that I recall, if any intervention then no difference.

OBS: I guess you went into that general meeting after that with the... I guess I'm trying to get the elements of time lined up. When you came back here did everybody just kind of throw in the sponge?

FED: I felt, okay, I'm just going to put that aside and go on to, it was after that, as I recall, it was after that that site agreement. It was after that that the field researcher was hired. And still at that point he seemed like a reasonable guy that had been through a thorough search. I was eager to still have the discussions with him. I mean he wasn't like her. I wanted nothing more to do ever again with her. But I didn't have that meeting. And I was perfectly happy to discuss things with him.

OBS: And that didn't go anywhere either?

FED: He was accustomed to basically very highly structured almost laboratory research, extremely highly structured. He didn't have the sense that he knew much about inquiry flowing out of conception and observation and interaction with each other. There was much more a sense that there was a more formulated clear hypothesis to be tested.

Yes. His approach was inconsistent with the content and nature of the inquiry I thought. That's an unfortunate mismatch to say the least.

"Pleasing Daddy"

The long descriptive narrative has indicated the gradual, progressive accumulating set of events of the falling out of the FEDs and IAP. With varying degrees of bitterness, hostility, and sadness various members of the organization from their particular niches spoke of aspects of the relationship. We present one more view of the conflict.

> IAP: But the feeling that I got from this whole thing was that a lot of what was being done for IAP was not done out of a conviction that this is the best way to go about the research, or this is the most fruitful way to go about the research, but the FEDs want X, Y, and Z, so we will produce X, Y, and Z, whether they are right or not in expecting X, Y, and Z. And the only reason, I think, that he wrote that letter, or on the phone said to me, "Rewrite chapter one," was because he had no input in my case study up to that point, and he felt that maybe officially he should have suggested something. So, this is to safeguard whatever, whatever. Um...and this I think was one of the vital flaws, that we kept trying to please Daddy without sitting back and saying, "Wait a minute..."
>
> OBS: In the sense "Daddy" being...
>
> IAP: Being the FEDs. And without sitting back and saying, "Wait a minute, I'm an adult, and I have to do what I think is right. And maybe the outcomes will satisfy Daddy, maybe it won't. But I have an intellectual-professional commitment to do something that is going to be fruitful to research, education, whatever the hell it would be." But we kept trying to please the FEDs time and time and time again whether it made sense to do so or not. And we changed our plans time and time and time again because of the project officers. Whether he was right or not. And I don't think he could appreciate that kind of thing. I mean it's got to, back to whether you're gonna have "yes" people or "no" people. I mean every time he made a decision it became law. And people were trembling because he breathed constantly. He wrote a letter to Roy saying, "-------," so everything now is gonna change. And that's when we had tasks, and then we had cross-site foci, and then we had, you know, so on and so on and so on. And I think that was one of the biggest flaws from the beginning that we kept trying to please them whether it made sense to please them or not. And I think that might have been from lack of professional-intellectual commitment to what IAP was supposed to be, or lack of vision, or lack of something. Gumption.
>
> OBS: That's a good social science concept.
>
> IAP: But, that I felt very strongly the last, the last few weeks--you know, months.
>
> OBS: More so now, than earlier?

> IAP: Yeah, yeah. I think when you're caught up into the whole thing, and you know that things aren't going right, you kept saying, "Well, maybe this change will make them right." Whether they come decreed by God, or by suggestion of the Lord, or wherever they came. But, I think that now you look at it as a whole pattern. We kept changing things because the FEDs said, and because the FEDs thought. And the point was that they had given us a grant and we should have been the ones to decide what makes sense scientifically, professionally, intellectually, and so forth. And a lot of these decisions were made to please the powers that be with the end result that the powers to be were totally displeased, anyway. And since a lot of the decisions were made, not out of intellectual conviction, but out of whatever it was at that time, nobody can stand up for them.

The ARC/GPC Conflict

The ARC/PGC conflict had a number of facets as well as a number of important antecedents and consequences. Figure 9.6 summarizes these. Many of the issues have appeared already in our narrative and discussion, particularly the raison d'etre for joining forces in the bid for the contract and later, the separating of consultative assistance efforts and turning conflict into pluralism, that is, making the incompatibility into a virtue.

Insert Figure 9.6 about here

Stylistic Differences

Early on, a consultant saw the differences between centers this way:

> Center differences. While I think the workshop allowed us to pass beyond our worst stereotypes of each other, some differences between Centers became even clearer. We must keep these differences out front, deal with them, use them to enrich the work of the project and possibly enrich the structures and processes within each of the Centers. I see the following differences:
>
> a. Internal family vs. outside effectiveness. While both Centers hold that internal structures and processes directly effect the organization's work and effectiveness, GPC seems to place more value on the development of individual staff members in all areas of human growth within a structure that gets the job done. ARC seems to place more emphasis on being effective in changing urban education, thinking that within the work to be done to be effective is much room for personal growth and development, particularly in the areas of skills related to educational change.

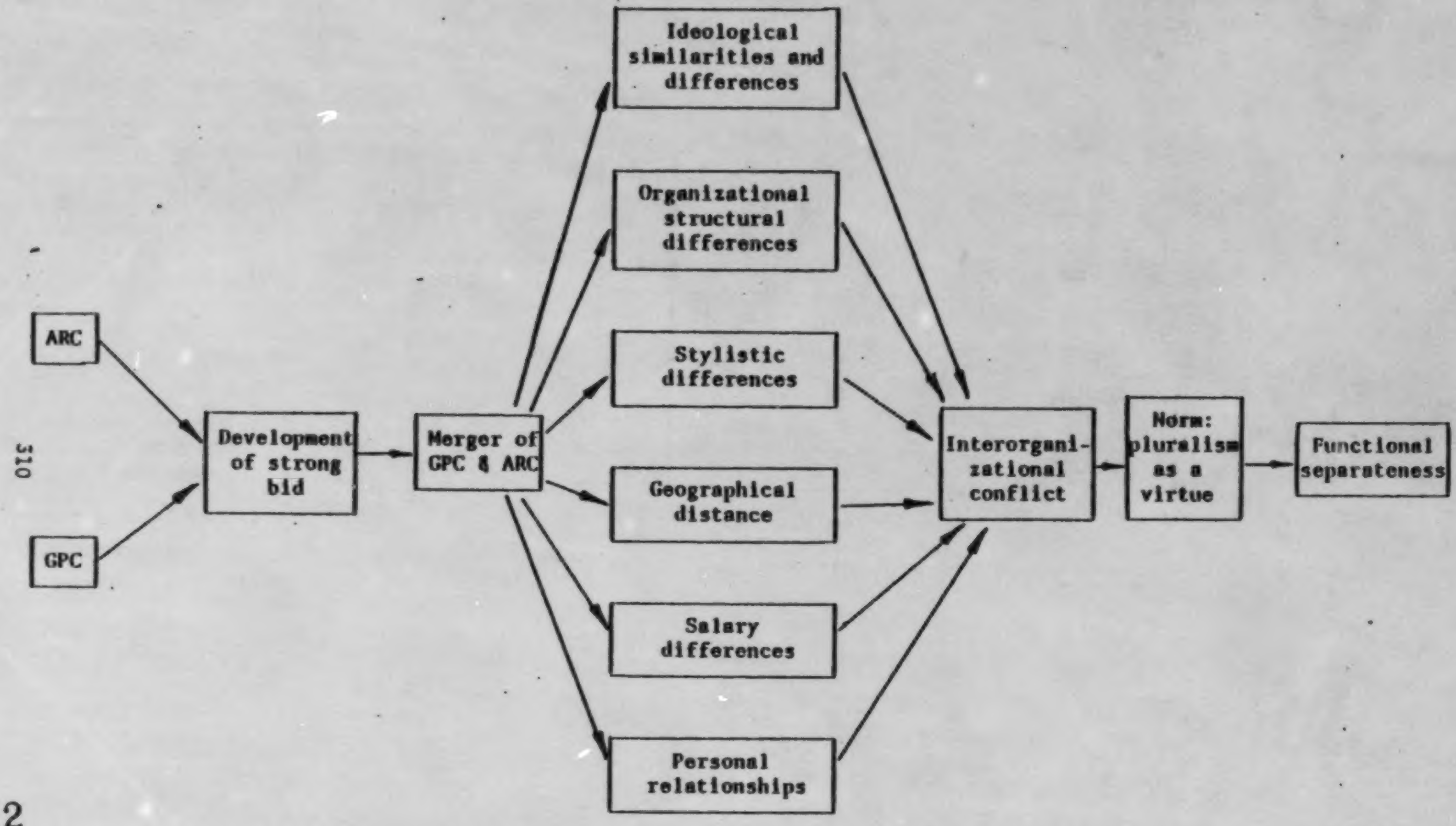
ARC
GPC
Development of strong bid
Merger of GPC & ARC
Ideological similarities and differences
Organizational structural differences
Stylistic differences
Geographical distance
Salary differences
Personal relationships
Interorganizational conflict
Norm: pluralism as a virtue
Functional separateness

Figure 9.6 Organizational Merger and Conflict

b. Planning vs. winging it. While there was a good deal of joking and carrying on about this issue, it does appear to be an important difference. GPC places more emphasis on meeting the situation as it is, with a debriefing afterwards to see how it went. ARC, again more intent perhaps on the change thing, values pre-planning.

Debriefing then focuses on both what happened and on the prior plans. ARC is more anxious in winging situations.

c. **Hectic, crisis pace.** ARC seems to enjoy stirring itself along in something of a continual crisis. While ARC values and carries out planning in its work relating to external meetings, it seems to have some trouble in planning its own internal life style so that it can operate in less of a continual crisis situation. GPC does not particularly value this kind of style. (PD/Y2)

A member of GPC perceived the conflict through a causal time perspective.

During the time that I was creating that part of the research, I was absolutely stupid as a social psychologist. I saw abundant evidence of the adversarial relations between people at ARC since I was working for many of the key people at ARC during those early days. What I saw were repeated examples of people attacking each other, withdrawing from each other, abrasively and adversively confronting each other all over what I thought to be issues of how to best organize IAP data. I stupidly thought that what I saw was situational and pertained to some difficulty that could be overcome by technical skill. In my stupidity, I completely overlooked the adversarial way that people at ARC treated each other. In time I became aware of this quality as this hostile push for adversarial relations spread to dividing not only one project of ARC against another but then pushed apart IAP. First, it was ARC against GPC. It was field researchers against people who provided consultative assistance. Still later it was groups of field researchers who worked with ARC versus field researchers who worked for GPC. (TI, Y5)

Another perception on the ARC/GPC conflict was stated this way:

OBS: Tell me a little bit about that? Cahoots with who and how?

IAP: With, just in collusion. Themselves. The benefits to...I I think GPC got more out of IAP than they put into it. And it bothers me. I...it always bothers me when that happens. (TI, Y5)

Whether that's a stylistic difference, better bargaining, opportunism, or simple neglect of the large problems of the urban public schools was open to debate. The negative emotional response was not.

While individual participants might want to quarrel with some of these as particulars and even with the labels, the point we want to accent is the need for a construct of organizational style, a way of doing things, as another element of conflict. The priority of family, planning vs. winging, and a crisis pace, all point to facets of how one does what one does. People who do things different are put in positions of stress, frustration, anxiety and guilt. None of which is desirable when extreme.

Conflict in Conceptual Systems

A curious kind of tension exists within inquiry regarding conceptual systems, creativity and what is to be considered problematic. On the one hand IAP was concerned with knowledge development and utilization. As an ARC representative stated it:

> ...the IAP knowledge utilization model is conceived as dynamic and evolving. We will be considering major redesigns of the model at the end of the first two phases of IAP work... (PD/Y3)

The language cloaking the discussion was an eclectic almost Deweyian functionalism which is prevalent in much of American education--needs, problems, alternative action, evaluation.

The cover letter accompanying the document indicates the problematic nature of the model.

> Having completed this draft, I come to the fortunate conclusion that the reason we didn't complete it before was because we couldn't. The conceptual scheme of IAP was too much in the process of evolution. Even now, as you will see on reading the statement I have left places for specific changes as a result of the February Conference. (PD/Y3)

At the February Conference, within two weeks of the previous document, representatives from the Group Process Center brought an elaborate social systems model with a very different language system. Figure 9.7 is reproduced from their ten-page document.

Insert Figure 9.7 about here

The model created considerable controversy, was felt by many to be too complicated to be useful, and was rejected out of hand by several members of IAP.

Smith, as one of the advisors who was attending his first IAP meeting, commented in his post meeting notes:

As a result of a lot of thinking, reading, and talking we suggest that the following are important facets and elements for IAP consideration.

What is a kind of ACTION

- interpersonal behaviors that satisfy
  -achievement motives
  -power motives
  -affiliation motives
- within subsystem processes
  -communication
  -goal setting
  -conflict management
  -problem solving
  -decision making
  -meeting
  -assessing change
- adaptive interactions among subsystems
  -receptivity
  -responsiveness
  -using resources
  -maintaining morale

of a SUBSYSTEM

-advisory council
-faculty

-in-district CA
-student council
-task force

-parent advisory group
-administrative team
-child-parent center
-superintendent's cabinet
-classroom

-out of district CA

that, given a CONTEXT

-change
-tightness

-composition
-energy
-ecology

enables an INTERIM TARGET to be reached

-clear statement
-staff development strategy
-increased morale
-selection process
-evaluation plan

-new council
-communication network
-common understandings
-elicit input
-develop strong principals
-transfer of parent involvement
-share clientele
-effective team

that results in a certain PROBLEM SOLVING POTENTIAL

-absent
-fragile
-passively present
-strong

at a given STAGE?

-initiation
-implementation
-incorporation

Please don't panic, but do read on. The following sections explain more about each facet and element.

Figure 9.7 A Proposed Analytic Scheme at the February Conference

Is there a dominant conceptual position in IAP (and should we all swing with it?)

> In a sense this point follows upon the previous one of content codes and cross site foci. I was so inundated with "paper" that I was not able to do justice to the issue, consequently, I'll just try to highlight it. My impression is that no consistency has been achieved as yet as to the general theoretical stance of the project. I didn't hear any general authority or set of authorities being quoted in terms of a general language system for organizing the theoretical and meta-theoretical assumptions of IAP. For example, mostly in good humor there was a little by-play around an FR's behavior modification background from general psychology. The candidate that seems most viable in terms of what I hear, a scanning of the code book, and what seemed to be in many of the documents is a social psychological eclecticism. If this is so, it might be helpful to urge everyone to read a bit of Lewin, Lippitt, Miles...and use these positions to work off of, that is, as starting points, which the data eventually refine, rework, and extend. There would be a core of relevant ideas to begin with which would help lay a background for more specific suggestions, such as the CA document of action, subsystem, context, etc. which received a mixed reception in the open meetings.
>
> I'm not urging a hard line orthodoxy but rather an element of community, a common language that we all have a core and which we help shape and evolve. In most groups this comes about "naturally," but IAP glued together two existing organizations and hired a heterogeneous collection of individuals. It might be helpful to say, "Let's all start here, have a go at this and see where we end up..." (PD/Y3)

The concerns we have at this point are multiple. Substantively a major dilemma lies in how much diversity in ideas does one need and want for creativity and when does diversity become too much and lead to immobilization or separation with each individual or subgroup essentially doing its own thing?

In part, this seems to involve what one is willing to make problematic. The "what" seems to split in two ways--the units and the degree of centrality/peripherality of the issue. The units can be individuals, subgroups, or the organization as a whole. The degree of centrality/peripherality refers, for the individual, reasonably small and specific behaviors, ideas or beliefs to larger more general conceptual systems or points of view. One's language system seems closer to the latter. For instance, if X tends to approach educational problems--after five years of doctoral work from a behavioristic and reinforcement theory, experimental psychological perspective and if Y approaches the educational world from a more Lewinian life space, force field approach, then we are going to have some difficulties, at least initially.[3] The implications of the systems ripple out in intriguing ways. To carry the illustration forward a bit more we'd be in agreement that "the experiment" would be the ultimate generator of knowledge, we'd agree that both laboratory and field experiments are important, but we'd be in terrible difficulties over metatheoretical issues on historical versus contemporaneous causation and on freedom and the dignity of the individual and few of our working concepts would be in agreement--operants, respondents, reinforcers, discriminative stimuli versus social climates, group decision-making, valences and so forth.

---

[3] The illustration is mostly artificial as our overall account indicates. One field researcher was a behaviorist on a "humanistic" site, which produced problems. Some of the GPC individuals might be classified as second or third generation Lewinians.

If the synthesis of conceptual systems around issues of education becomes "the problem" that then is a fundamental decision. If however, "the problem" becomes a more limited and specified analysis of particular educational organization innovations then some, perhaps any language system can be agreed upon and used, at least until it breaks down. It might well have been argued, although it wasn't, that one begins with Webster's Dictionary and builds upon that as distinctions are needed to talk about the phenomena observed. This probably is closest to Glaser and Strauss' (1967) grounded theory position, which probably was more compatible with some of the ARC group than the GPC group. But it, in turn, conflicts with the rationale behind the preset code books and the computerized data plan. In addition, it assumes that the field workers are both theoretically trained and theoretically inclined, a condition which was only partly met.

If the larger problem is tackled, the givens of the contract, the distance, the rapid increase in size, and the variety of social ideology become critical difficulties and barriers to accomplishing the task. Similarly, the logistics of organizational design, with structures and processes, become very important. Who does what? When? And how is it coordinated toward deadlines?

In short, IAP was caught in a major conflict in conceptual systems. In part this was an aspect of the ARC/GPC conflict; in part it was broader in the Inquiry and Assistance Project. We think this is an underestimated problem in Educational R & D. We think it is a relatively unexamined issue as well. Our best guess is that one of the functions of "strong leadership" in general intellectual movements (e.g., the Freudian School) or in University Departments and Centers (e.g., Hull's group at Yale, Lewin's at Iowa) is the imposition of the leader's definition of the situation, perspective, and language system upon the group. This did not happen in IAP. We have not found discussions in the literature of alternative ways of coping with the problem.

Interpersonal Items

The ARC/GPC interpersonal relationships, both its positive and negative aspects, as one might expect in hindsight, had multiple aspects, multiple causes, and multiple consequences. For instance:

> And he was utterly obnoxious that trip. I mean he had a lot of growing up to do and I think he did eventually grow up. But the first time he met us in the airport, he said to us that as far as he was concerned Eastern City was just a side office of GPC, and we're gonna do whatever they told us to do. That was a greeting. In Western City, at twelve o'clock at night. Again, at which point you wanted to go, "Plurrrrrr." You know, "Can I have a plane back?"

> The GPC people were very nice to us during that meeting, and I think one of my big problems--and that was a personal kind of problem, was that at that meeting it was very obvious there was a division between GPC and ARC. Us and them. I was us because I was hired by ARC, and yet I liked the GPC people personally very much. I thought that they were very sweet people, they bent over backwards to be nice to us. (TI/YS)

The ARC/GPC conflict had implications for the administrative and supervisory structure within IAP as a whole.

> Um...I think that there was already emerging a problem with Paul and his leadership and Claudia and Rich and their leadership as research coordinators. I really liked him. I really did. I liked the man, I thought he was a sweetheart. He was a decent human being, um...I don't know if intellectually I would agree with everything he said, but he was an honest person and I don't think they were giving him an honest chance. And I felt that from the beginning, I felt that he was selected out to be the "meanie," from Day 1. And no matter what he did, he was going to come out behind. Which I felt was very unjust because I thought he was a very decent man. Um...and he was much more innocent about the politiking than Larry was. (TI/YS)

The "we/they" distinctions were never tidy in IAP as another comment reveals.

> I felt very uncomfortable at the fact that I wasn't supposed to like these people and I really did like these people. There was an antagonism between June and Sara, and I liked her--I really did. And somehow or another, we were made to feel a little bit like we were betraying our origins by socializing with the "meanies" there. But I think that at the meeting, which was the first meeting I ever attended, it was very clear that there was going to be a tremendous problem between us and them. I think in ARC--and the whole ARC group, including Eastern City, that became further divided. I mean once we were confronting GPC, it was us and them. Then, when it was just ARC, it was us--Eastern City, and them--Central City. Okay, so it was a further division. And then it was further divided into us--the researcher team, and them--the CA people in ARC. And then that was further divided into us--the field researchers, and them--the rest of the people. I think one thing that was done in the meeting is that the site researchers became very close to each other I think on a personal basis and on a professional basis. Um... and I think we pretty much developed the identity of us versus the rest of the world which I think is very damaging to whatever happened afterwards. I think we cut communications to a great degree there. I think it was very apparent in that first meeting that not everybody was equally qualified to hold the job. And I think,... not because people were dumb or whatever, but because you needed certain kinds of skills to do that kind of job and not everybody had those skills. And I think nobody addressed themselves to that which I think was a very serious point. (TI/YS)

Neatness and tidiness of issue, of structure, of perspective did not characterize IAP. The diversity, the conflict and the strong positive affect, the turmoil made IAP an exciting place to be. It also made for difficulty in task accomplishment and goal attainment.

The Roy/Randy Conflict

One of the most tragic stories in all of IAP was the deep split which grew between Randy and Roy, co-founders and directors of ARC, friends and colleagues for over a decade. Each spoke movingly, eloquently and now, a year after Randy's departure, more sadly than angrily. Friends of both, especially those external to the Applied Research Center itself, would sadly shake their heads and speak of trying to maintain friendships and collegial relations with each.

It isn't necessary to detail the multiple aspects of the conflict as each of them reported it and as their colleagues commented upon it. Suffice it to say that differences existed or were perceived to exist in:

1) preferred styles, amount and kind of work;
2) issues of compensation vis a vis one another and others in ARC;
3) estimate of each other's talents for various kinds of organizational tasks, e.g., intellectual leadership and managerial ability;
4) contributions to ARC over the years;
5) interplay of individual careers and individual personal development and the dyadic interdependencies; and
6) priorities in professional activities vis a vis family activities, community activities, and so forth.

Social conflict can be dimensionalized in a number of ways. This one was intense, protracted, and pervasive. It was personally debilitating to both. It consumed huge amounts of intellectual and emotional resources. It had major organizational consequences.

For our purposes in understanding IAP the organizational consequences are of central importance. We have diagrammed the major elements and some of their patterned interrelationships in Figure 9.8. Briefly, ARC split wide open from the secretaries and clerical staff right on up through the board of directors. All kinds of coordination and supervision tasks within IAP suffered. The relations between ARC and GPC were exacerbated; "they can't get their act together" was one pithy observation made to us. High intellectual ability and experience, always much needed resources in R & D work, were seriously lessened with Randy's departure. A number of ARC and IAP staff elected to join Randy in his new organization. Personnel turnover always makes a difficult problem in organizational continuity. In a large, multigoal, dispersed organization, doing R & D work, the loss of other able and talented middle echelon personnel, just as they were beginning to make important contributions (e.g., first drafts of major

Insert Figure 9.8 about here

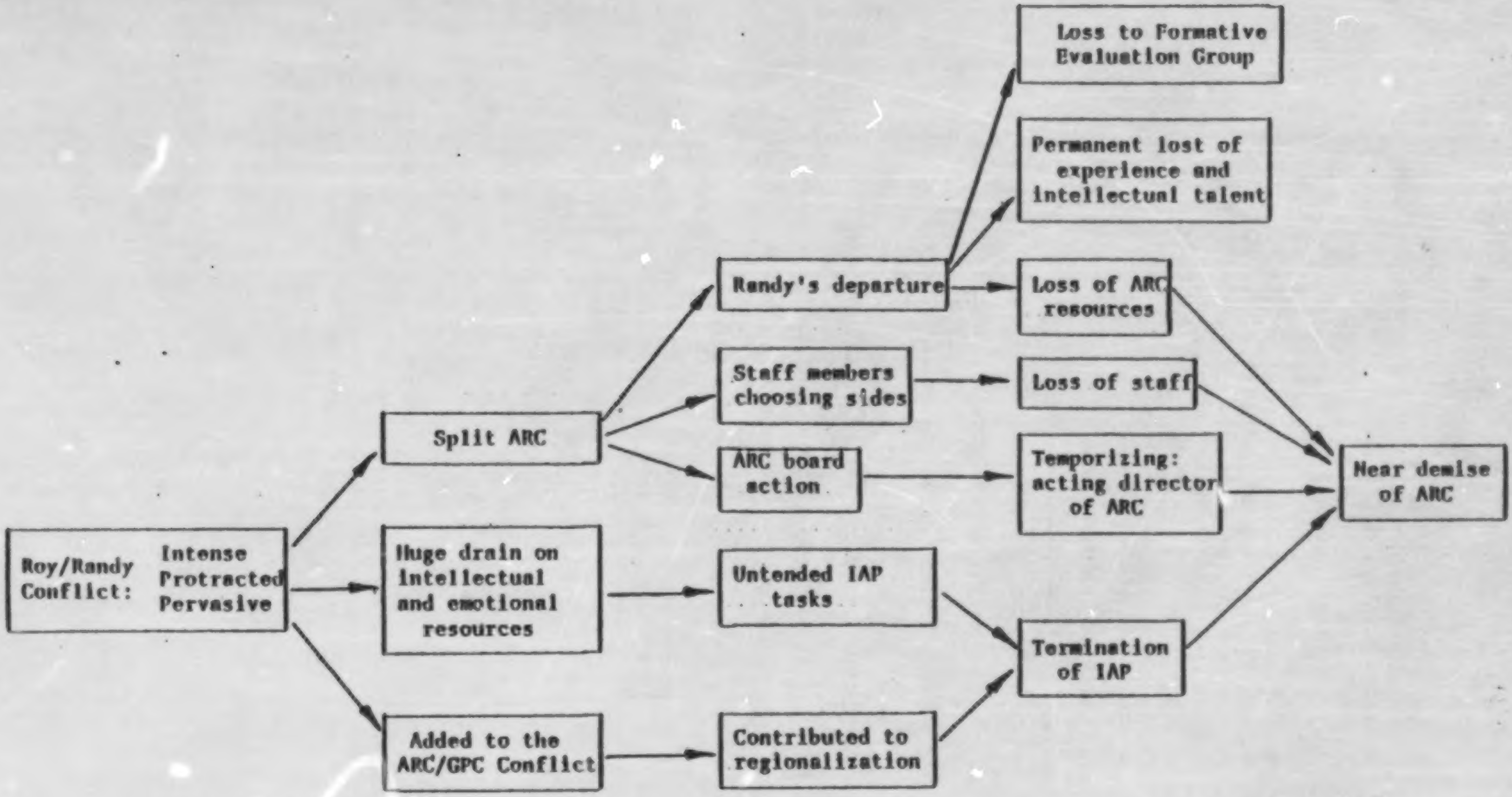
Roy/Randy Conflict: Intense Protracted Pervasive
Split ARC
Huge drain on intellectual and emotional resources
Added to the ARC/GPC Conflict
Randy's departure
Staff members choosing sides
ARC board action
Untended IAP tasks
Contributed to regionalization
Loss to Formative Evaluation Group
Permanent lost of experience and intellectual talent
Loss of ARC resources
Loss of staff
Temporizing: acting director of ARC
Termination of IAP
Near demise of ARC

Figure 9.8 Organizational Consequences of the Roy/Randy Conflict

analysis papers), was its own kind of disaster. Hiring, training, socializing new people took management and supervisory time, and created havoc with the relentless schedules for products and new plans.

With Randy's departure with some of ARC resources and with some of its other contracts and proposals, the survival of ARC itself became problematic. ARC became a one-contract shop and with a troubled IAP contract at that. The survival of ARC and the successful completion of IAP were not always one and the same. Difficult problems, difficult choices.

4. CONCLUSIONS

As we reflect on conflict in IAP several major generalizations remain. First, when conflict is so pervasive and so intense, as we believe it was in IAP, the dysfunctions far outweigh the functions (as Deutsch, 1973 and Coser, 1956 specify them). When conflict is everywhere you have no place to stand, nothing to build upon. Remedies may necessarily have to be as drastic as a "constitutional convention" or a "revolution." Neither of these occurred in IAP, although the summer regionalization conference (Y3) approached the former.

Second, conflict over governance--power, authority, the meaning of "democracy" is particularly paralyzing. The very process (e.g., voting, consensus, consultation, representation) by which other conflicts are handled, becomes problematic. The long quote from our interview with one of the field researchers who went to their first meeting questioning the structure of the project as defined by the formal contract was not only a difference or conflict in substantive issues, but also an attack on the governance and decision-making structures of the organization. That started early, spread widely and remained with IAP until the project was terminated.

Third, some ideologies (if not all?) raise a screen between issues and problems "out there," and intellectual abilities, talents, and confidence for dealing with problems never come fully into play.

The need for, and yet the inability to disentangle the strands of conflict seemed another "fact of life" in the Inquiry and Assistance Project. In part it seemed like an old Vigotsky concept formation task when the blocks could be grouped by color, shape or size. The large ones and the small ones always had a mix of colors and shapes and some people were always looking at those other aspects when others were trying to focus on the first dimension. So issues of governance couldn't be disentangled from race and sex--"the leaders were white males" and as one said, "It came back to haunt us."

Conflicts about race, sex, and class are so important in the lives of most of us (if not all of us) that we read almost every action as containing implications and usually negative ones at that. Similarly, most, if not all, of us unwittingly do things, usually negative, that are racist, classicist, or sexist. In a sense we are both over-sensitized and under-sensitized at the same time. Such a set of interpretations by us may be no more than reinventing the wheel of unconscious forces in human action. Further, the actions people take or the perceptions people make as they are working their way through a mass of unknowns or partially knowns often will come out as clumsy, awkward, and self-conscious. Criticisms at such a point can lead to paralysis--"Everything I do comes out wrong." Or it can lead to more emotion, anger, or aggressiveness, "Well, damn you anyway!" In the middle of this kind of conflict, everything by way of "task accomplishment" seems to slow down. People vary on their willingness to accept the trade-offs.

In the interviews we poked hard at the veridicality of prejudice and discrimination regarding race, sex, class, and power. The answers we heard were, "there is and there isn't." Every act, even every small act, e.g., serving Tequila, commenting about a black Afro hairdo, having a Turkish dancer for entertainment, promoting an "incompetent" because of race, sex or class or "performing" at a party, invariably had multiple and conflicting interpretations by the initiating actor, the recipient actor, and perhaps most devastatingly, the observing actors who often interjected a casual or critical comment or observation. Partly here, individuals had varying zones or limits of what they perceived and felt to be prejudicial. Some were perceived as "walking ethnicities," others as "users" and others as "Oreo's" or "being used" or "naive."

As we reflect on IAP's conflicts, its severity, its multiple strands, and the centrality of its importance to the lives of many of the IAP participants, we are reminded of a passage from R. M. Hare's The Language of Morals (1952).

> Thus, if pressed to justify a decision completely, we have to give a complete specification of the way of life of which it is a part. This complete specification it is impossible in practice to give; the nearest attempts are those given by the great religions, especially those which can point to historical persons who carried out the way of life in practice. Suppose, however, that we can give it. If the inquirer still goes on asking, "But why should I live like that?" then there is no further answer to give him, because we have already, ex hypothesi said everything that could be included in this further answer. We can only ask him to make up his own mind which way he ought to live; for in the end everything rests upon such a decision of principle. (p. 69)

His decisions of principle and specification of a way of life seem out of place in discussions of educational organizations, yet the framing of issues, as in the ideology and in the kinds of conflict makes such thoughts plausible if not necessitated. And that's an important observation on an important set of events. If one builds, or tries to build, an organization that departs from the more classical Weberian model of central authority, specialization, impersonality and formal rules, as IAP did, then one takes on problems of community and individual identity where decisions of principle and ways of life have more traditionally found their expression. That's a heady agenda. Creators of new societies who work through new organizations, we think, are taking on a set of tasks whose magnitude is seldom perceived realistically. In hindsight, it's also an agenda that seems grossly incongruent with formal contracts, specified goals, and stepwise funding.

In these conflicts, some individuals became what we called "irrevocably offended" by other individuals. Accusations of "manipulator," "user," "opportunist" were applied to other individuals within and between races, sexes, classes, and labor/management. As individuals moved to these positions, then working together became exceedingly difficult. Efforts by management to intervene were compounded when the individuals offended or offending were within the management hierarchy itself--supervisors, directors, and team or group leaders. The apogee of this was the Roy/Randy conflict, which as we have indicated, almost directly destroyed ARC and indirectly IAP as well.

Not all conflicts can be resolved amicably or cooperatively. Some people really are nasty bastards, opportunists, self-righteous prigs, not to mention simpler instances of liars, cheats and thieves. (Pick your own favorite category!) All societies have both ways and places for dealing with unreconcilable deviants. Most organizations ultimately ban (or fire) some small percentage of people so defined. "Discipline" problems are everywhere. Sometimes the dissidents stage a revolution, a coup, or vote the "other" bad guys out.

It seems that when conflicts reach this degree of intensity and irresolution that it might be better to "agree to disagree" as the old expression goes. To bound the problem, to localize the issue or issues in conflict is another way to state this. To retreat to formal organizational structures is another aspect of this. IAP came closest to these mechanisms when the FEDs returned to the formal contract in phrasing their demands and when ARC and GPC began to talk of prime contracts and subcontracts. For IAP more generally, the vagueness in the original mandate, the informal and changing internal structure per se and the ideology of egalitarianism, personal development and cooperativeness made this exceedingly difficult. A project which was helping others implicitly must be able to help itself seemed to be the mood.

All of which is to say that federal policy works itself out among individuals and groups with divergent interests, in the older political science sense of that term, varied perspectives, differential skills and abilities, and unequal power. The magnitude of these kinds of conflict, even among well-intentioned individuals, as was the case in most of IAP, was seriously underestimated throughout IAP. We believe that the amount of conflict and its underestimation are true in most urban education projects, in most urban school systems, and in most urban communities. In our data and analysis, we have found that this played back upon the building of the organization, the expectations about the amount of work that could be accomplished, and the activities actually undertaken in the organization.

Chapter Ten

Administering and Managing the Inquiry and Assistance Project

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout our report we have been guided latently, and sometimes manifestly by several overarching orienting hypotheses: that IAP was a microcosm of the urban public schools; that a political perspective provided the best model for handling the phenomena under study; and that a multi-leveled and multi-strand over time systemic view also is required. Nowhere are these hypotheses more clearly evidenced than in a consideration of management and leadership in the project. We begin our discussion of management issues with several illustrations, vignettes of IAP at different times, midway and toward the end of IAP, and tentative interpretations which present an image of the problems in the management of IAP.

Winding Down: The End as Beginning

To the best of our understanding few, if any, accounts exist of educational organizations coping with the problems of terminal funding. In Chapter One we presented an initial view of the several settings of IAP as we began our interviews. Here, we enlarge upon that view with a model of "winding down," the organization as it reacts to being on terminal funding and finishing its remaining tasks. Figure 10.1 contains this analysis. As the figure suggests, it is not a happy picture. Negative judgments have been made by outside reviewers. Responsible authorities in the FEDs have exercised what they perceive to be both their right and responsibility in dispensing and managing public tax monies. They put IAP on terminal funding, that is, limited funds to finish the work and to ease the transition of personnel as humanely as possible.

Insert Figure 10.1 about here

The "winding down" process here, and presumably more generally in such circumstances as closing public schools because of declining enrollments or reducing the size of university departments because of a shortage of students and funds, is not a pleasant episode in the life of an organization. Morale problems were everywhere. People were leaving, both voluntarily or they saw the

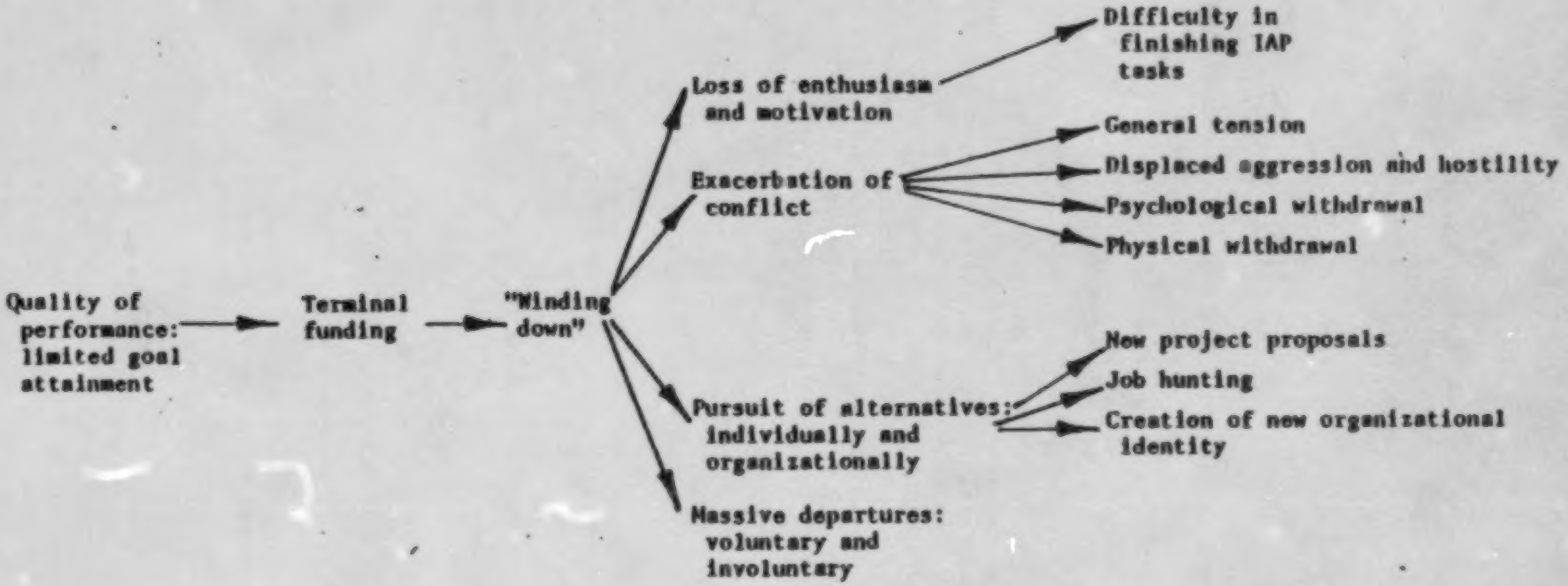
Quality of performance: limited goal attainment
Terminal funding
"Winding down"
Loss of enthusiasm and motivation
Difficulty in finishing IAP tasks
Exacerbation of conflict
General tension
Displaced aggression and hostility
Psychological withdrawal
Physical withdrawal
Pursuit of alternatives: individually and organizationally
New project proposals
Job hunting
Creation of new organizational identity
Massive departures: voluntary and involuntary

Figure 10.1 Winding Down: The Final Days of a Project

"handwriting on the wall" and as they had opportunities. Termination notices spread progressively through the organization. Among the remaining "core staff," enthusiasm was non-existent, motivation was limited, conflicts were exacerbated. It was difficult to see any sense in finishing reports of case studies and of secondary analyses from the now-dead project. Critical people were gone, remaining people who had responsibilities transferred to them had to make do, to try and find someone who knew enough to fill in gaps in knowledge, and to make requests of departed folk to help. Some of the latter were hostile. Some wanted to close out that chapter of their lives. Some wanted to be paid for any subsequent activity. Among the people who remained conflict and tension were high regarding guilt, fault finding, and who would be next to go. Some withdrew physically, others psychologically.

One individual's brief comment seemed to capture the gist of the problems and feelings.

> We spent some time on that [ideas for new funding] in the fall, then all this hit...there are some bad feelings people have about the place and they're going to have to be worked out before they put any energy into creating a future. (TI, Y5)

Meanwhile ARC, the Applied Research Center, which had become a one-contract shop after Randy's departure was in a life or death pursuit of alternatives. They searched for a new identity while individuals developed project proposals and kept an eye out for other job alternatives. All of which drew attention and resources away from the Inquiry and Assistance Project.

Securing Resources

Securing resources links aspects of ideology, old problems, and new efforts, but mostly highlights the theme of problems in managment and administration. Both as reality and as symbol, the place of "writing" in IAP (and more generally in educational R & D we have argued) is a major under-investigated, under-analyzed, misinterpreted and mishandled dimension. Simply put, the R & D activities at ARC, the Applied Research Center, and presumably at most if not all R & D centers, can be looked at as a cycle or series of cycles that begin with proposal writing, continue with written progress reports and written interim products and conclude with final written reports. Figure 10.1 attempts to capture the major interplay between the FEDs and ARC with the additional impact of ourside reviewers used by the FEDs and consultants and advisors used by ARC. From initial funding through continuation funding, the major decisions on resources occurs through the written reports.

Insert Figure 10.1 about here

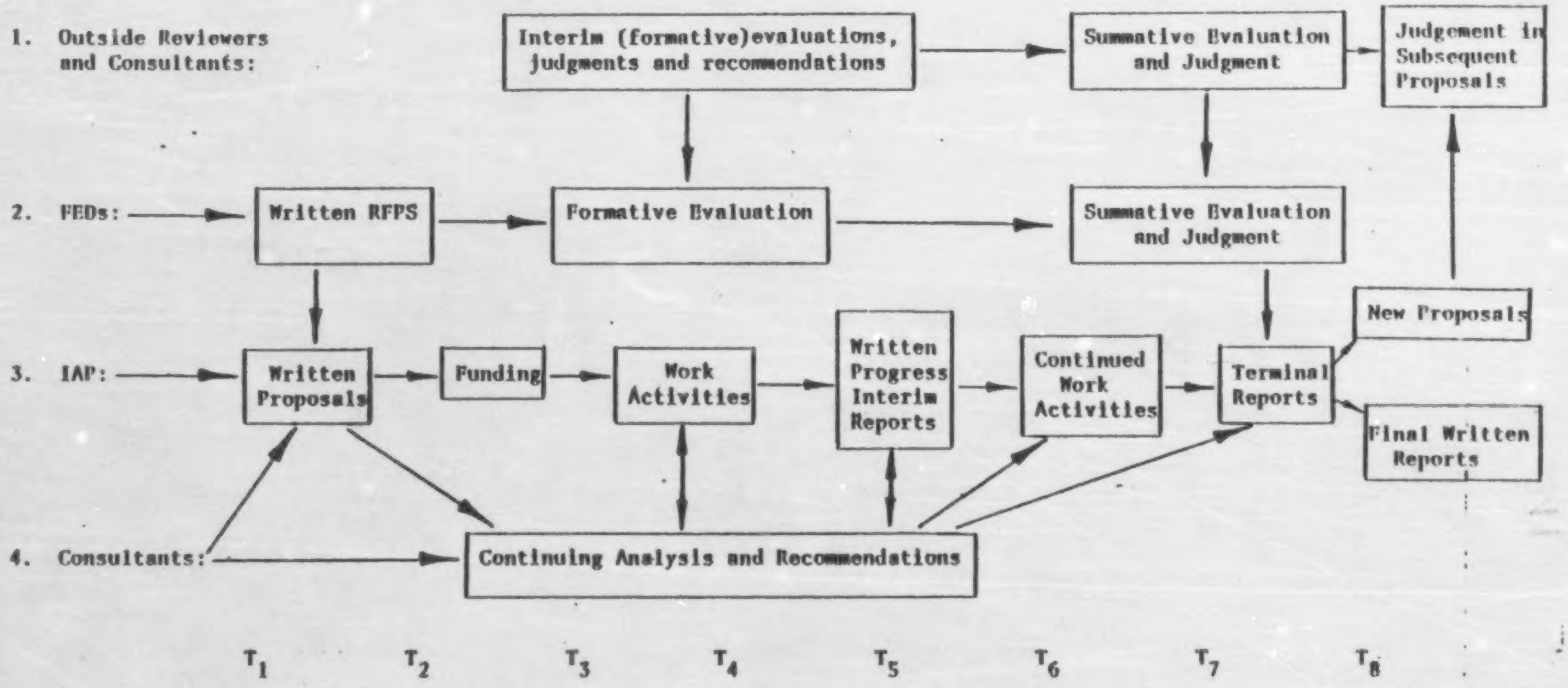
1. Outside Reviewers and Consultants:
2. FEDs:
3. IAP:
4. Consultants:
Interim (formative)evaluations, judgments and recommendations
Summative Evaluation and Judgment
Judgement in Subsequent Proposals
Written RFPS
Formative Evaluation
Summative Evaluation and Judgment
New Proposals
Written Proposals
Funding
Work Activities
Written Progress Interim Reports
Continued Work Activities
Terminal Reports
Final Written Reports
Continuing Analysis and Recommendations
T_1
T_2
T_3
T_4
T_5
T_6
T_7
T_8

Figure 10.2 Strands of Interorganizational Activity and the Centrality of Written Documents

At ARC and at GPC and in IAP, the initial writing was done primarily by white males who also had seniority in the original organizations. Considerable conflict occurred along the way when combinations of personnel who were junior and/or female and/or from minority backgrounds were unable to write "clearly, interestingly, or vividly" or were alleged to be unable to do so.

Perhaps the most interesting twist in the tangled set of affairs called "the writing problem" resides in that activity we have labeled "writing fundable proposals." When "writing skill" is cast this way there were very few members of IAP and its two parent organizations, the Applied Research Center (ARC) and the Group Process Center (GPC) who had extensive records of successful proposal writing. At ARC, one man, Randy Jennings, was most central although two other senior men were heavily involved. (Some difference in perceptions did exist here, so the point might be debated a bit.) At GPC, two senior men, Larry Masters and Paul Brown, were most central, although a third person, a recent Ph.D., was evolving toward that kind of centrality. The political aspects of race, sex, and academia have been raised elsewhere. The point at issue here is the hypothesis that "writing ability" at this level, regardless of its demographic correlates, is a rare and valuable skill to a soft money organization. Among its consequences are differential power and status and strains on the ideology of equality and collegial relationships. Figure 10.3 organizes these hypotheses into serial form.

Insert Figure 10.3 about here

One of the most vivid commentaries on the Inquiry and Assistance Project and its staff occurred in the waning months of the project, when they were on terminal funding in the spring of Year V. A new staff member was hired at the time all of the field researchers and most of the consultative assisters were laid off. His job was essentially to prepare proposals in response to RFPs from NIE, OE, Bureau of the Handicapped, and so forth. One of the core group at ARC did do a small proposal which was not funded. Another member, who was in conflict with the director, freelanced a proposal, was fired for doing so, and eventually received funding under the auspices of a new nonprofit corporation. While others in ARC contributed to these, and while they had other major and important assignments, the major effort fell on a person who was new to the organization, who was male, who was white, and who had a Ph.D.

Further evidence of this linkage of writing and power appears in the departure of one of ARC founders and central figures. When he left ARC to found a new organization, he took with him a project he had written and had gotten funded and a half dozen men and women who originally were ARC staff.

It might be argued that the problem lies in the potentially discriminatory panels who are selected to read proposals and that they represent the prevailing educational establishment which among other characteristics tends to be white, male, and Ph.D.'d. Even though we lose a bit of the focus "on the writing problem," an important side story appears at this point. In one of our more "collegial discussions" with a female member of IAP, she commented angrily and frustratingly about "being used" by the FEDs who were asking her to be a panel member and read proposals on the one hand while on the other

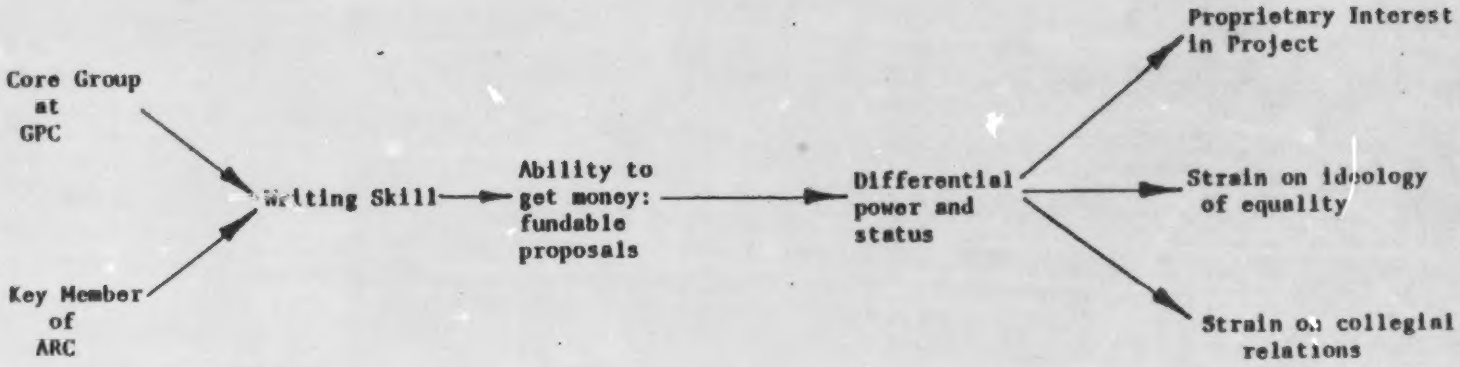
Core Group at GPC
Key Member of ARC
Writing Skill
Ability to get money: fundable proposals
Differential power and status
Proprietary Interest in Project
Strain on ideology of equality
Strain on collegial relations

Figure 10.3 Organizational Consequences of Writing Ability

hand she was receiving critical commentary on reports and papers she was writing for IAP. At that point we joined in debate from the FEDs point of view--"If you pose it that way they are in a no-win position. What are they to do?"

In the waning days of IAP, when essentially we were interviewing project personnel and former personnel we caught the end of the cycle. Several events stood out. New people were hired to help in rewriting case study documents. Sometimes this involved finishing the documents per se, although usually it involved rewriting and editing to make the documents more interesting and more powerful statements. Second, we ran into, and got involved ourselves, in critiquing, discussing, and "improving" drafts of documents. As indicated elsewhere that was an important data source on the nature of the issue in IAP. Third, some elements of the earlier cycle were being repeated--proposals were being drafted by senior white males.

At a more fundamental level we don't know what to make of this. A number of hypotheses come to mind.

1) Has the real elitism of ARC leadership finally surfaced?
2) In spite of opportunities, attempts at training, and varied selection procedures IAP was not able to develop personnel to carry out the writing task at the level of competitive proposal writing?
3) The broader system is "rigged" in favor of a conservative establishment? But is "rigged" the proper verb since this runs through the history of the scientific enterprise, if we can believe the historians of science (e.g., Toulman and Goodfield, 1961, 1963, 1965; Kuhn, 1970). That's the ideological nature and function of the scientific paradigm.
4) The case for social action, praxis, education as a practical activity has not been made? And, if once made, are there clear indicators beyond the written proposal or the written product that can be used by civil servants in such organizations as the Federal Education Department as they move to judgments?
5) Is too much emphasis and value placed on the one skill of proposal writing, that is, do we need a new metaphor? In the arts, many performers don't write their own material. Acclaimed musicians, conductors and actors abound who don't compose or write. Most directors and producers neither write nor perform but play vital roles in the collective art scene (e.g., Becker, 1974).
6) Is this the time and place to attack the fundamental issues in suchness, personal or tacit knowledge to use the Maslow (1966) and Polanyi (1959, 1966) labels.

All of which is to say, the leadership of ARC, both as individuals and as a group in the terminal phases of IAP was doing some things similar to what had been done before and which had disastrous consequences. At such a point we tend to revert to our more "natural scientist" stance and look beyond the motives and intentions of individual actors and ask ourselves, "Why?" Such activity creates a number of provocative questions.

2. EXTERNAL RELATIONS:
PROCEDURES, PROCESSES, AND STRUCTURES

Introduction

Beyond the initial proposal writing and solicitation of funds, IAP's leadership made contact with its outside world in several ways. First, they had a continuing relationship with the FEDs. Parts of that story, and some interpretations, have appeared at several points in the monograph. Here we will try to capture a bit more from the perspective of the Directors of IAP. Secondly, continuing relationships existed with the public schools where the ten settings of local innovation occurred. These contacts were most critical early on when the Inquiry part of the project was in high emphasis. Later, the contacts with the Consultative Assistance settings in the public schools of Midwest City and Southwestern City were of key importance. Thirdly, IAP utilized outside consultants for a variety of support activities. Various individuals appeared at different points doing various training, advising, or helping activities. Finally, IAP had a national advisory group who were to act as "critical advocates" and counsel with the project management.

The Relationship With the FEDs

Most of the story of IAP's relationship with the FEDs has been told at several points in the monograph. Here we only reiterate that the managerial problems began early and with a difficult set of constraints, or givens, as we called them earlier.

> IAP: Yeah, the dates and the deliverables got changed to really reflect what was on, but I think when it was conceptualized, it was conceptualized with a little more time.
>
> OBS: So it really conflicted within the logic of the proposal, if you like.
>
> IAP: Yeah, in a way that...and what was crazy was that we agreed to do it. Well, that's no so bad, that's, I guess, part of the funding game but I imagine a place like National Research Corporation would have come back after a month and really renegotiated. But there's another issue that I think is related to that. It's that this was the FEDs first real big proposal. The whole IAP, ten settings. And I think they were the marginal group in the government bureau. I get the impression that they were the step child. They had a lot invested in that working out. It was unusual I think also for what was getting funded. So the pressure was on them and the pressure was on us. And it was like they had...maybe like

> there was even some talk in the early days of the project that they were giving up their child to us for adoption. And we had their baby.
>
> OBS: Yeah, but was that somebody's expression exactly?
>
> IAP: I don't know whether it was our assessment of the situation or whether...Yeah, I don't think anyone at the FEDs said that. But certainly in our discussions we felt like they had given us their baby. Therefore, they had that same kind of solicitude that a new parent has. Here, you've given up your baby to these people, are they gonna take care of it right? And I guess they were also out on a limb giving it to ARC and to GPC as opposed to National Research Corporation. We didn't have that record that National did. (TI/Y5)

Throughout the project, the refrain appeared that the project belonged to the FEDs, in the sense of the creative ideas underlying the several position papers and the RFP. That poses intriguing questions in the role of the government generally in educational R & D, and a language has grown up around it, "solicited versus unsolicited proposals" and "contracts versus grants." While that lurks in the background, our point here concerns the problems posed for the project leadership.

The FEDs were "up front" also with the kind of continuing collegial relationship they envisioned for themselves and IAP. Snags developed at early meetings with IAP staff members who didn't trust the FEDs and deliberately sought to avoid them, even while there continued to be joint efforts and participation in interviewing and hiring of new personnel. The FEDs felt they had creative ideas about knowledge development and utilization, data about the inquiry settings from their roles as monitors of the projects in the settings, and concerns of equal magnitude regarding the improvement of American Education. They felt they were undervalued and underused by IAP personnel. The critical generalization we would make is that the IAP leadership never learned how to cope with, work off of, develop upon, that possibly very different relationship with this part of the environment. Our view of the reasons lie in the interpretive themes scattered throughout the monograph.

In the eyes of the IAP leaders, the grand plan of the FEDs involved developing a community of the FEDs, other FED projects, practitioners from the ten settings, and IAP. In actuality, to the IAP leaders, the collaborative effort turned out to be a "monitoring device for the government" as one of them phrased it. Anger followed upon the "heavy handed" intervention by the FEDs.

Perhaps the most critical variable in the whole network of external relationships with the FEDs lay in the stepwise funding. The general form of the contract was roughly a million dollars a year for five years. But, and this is a significant but, the project was designed in phases with funding conditional upon plans and products as judged by the FEDs and a group of outside reviewers. Once again, this was clear early on, for the very competing for the contract involved outside reviewers, the participation of final bidders, representatives from the ten settings and the FEDs. Part of the reason the ARC/GPC proposal won the initial competition was the outside support by some reviewers who liked the flavor of ARC school-based orientation and experience of GPC. Project leaders responded then to those special demands and also later to the more usual FED requests for elaborations and addenda to the original proposal. The problems which IAP leaders never resolved well involved the judgments at the points of refunding after Phase I and Phase II. Flurries of efforts to prepare documents, to formalize plans, and to participate in the selection of the review teams (e.g., the proportions of practitioners to university types, of qualitative field researchers to more quantitative and experimental types) consumed large amounts of managerial time, effort and energy.

Insert Figure 10.4 about here

In its most extreme forms of expression: IAP was not producing anything of merit contrasted with the FEDs don't know what they want from the contract. The massive review at the end of Phase II which we recounted elsewhere, resulted in the FED's decision to put IAP on terminal funding. Perhaps by way of simple summary, project managers face different external relations with unsolicited proposals, with grants, and with single-funding reviews than those managers whose projects are solicited, who are on contracts and who are on stepwise funding. We didn't find in the literature any collation of managerial experience with the various combinations of these relationships. We have reported elsewhere on our personal experience (Smith, 1976, 1978).

The Advisory Group

The overall plan for the management of IAP called for the establishment of an advisory group of four individuals. The label most frequently used to describe their role was "critical advocate" to the leaders of IAP. That role came to have multiple definitions as we will indicate shortly. In the past we have taken a strong skeptical questioning stance toward the value of consultants in innovative projects (Smith and Keith, 1972, pp. 382-384). In a sense this perspective continues here.

As a group, all of the consultants had or had had major connections with universities. During IAP, they also had other responsibilities--one was a full-time free-lance consultant, one was full-time in community action work, and one directed part-time a private consulting organization. The fourth was part-time on a research project. Several had written extensively on policy, innovation, research methods, and educational and social science theory.

Each by reason of background, inclination, or invitation played different roles. One was more advocate than critic. In his own words:

> I find that I am approaching this memo with some trepidation, feeling a bit overwhelmed with the magnitude of the issues and problems IAP is facing. Perhaps I have gotten too close in and involved, empathizing enough so that I begin to have the sorts of worries I would have were I a central participant in the system. And perhaps I am worrying too much that I ought to be able to come out with coherent and comforting advice that will be immediately illuminating and useful. (TI/Y5)

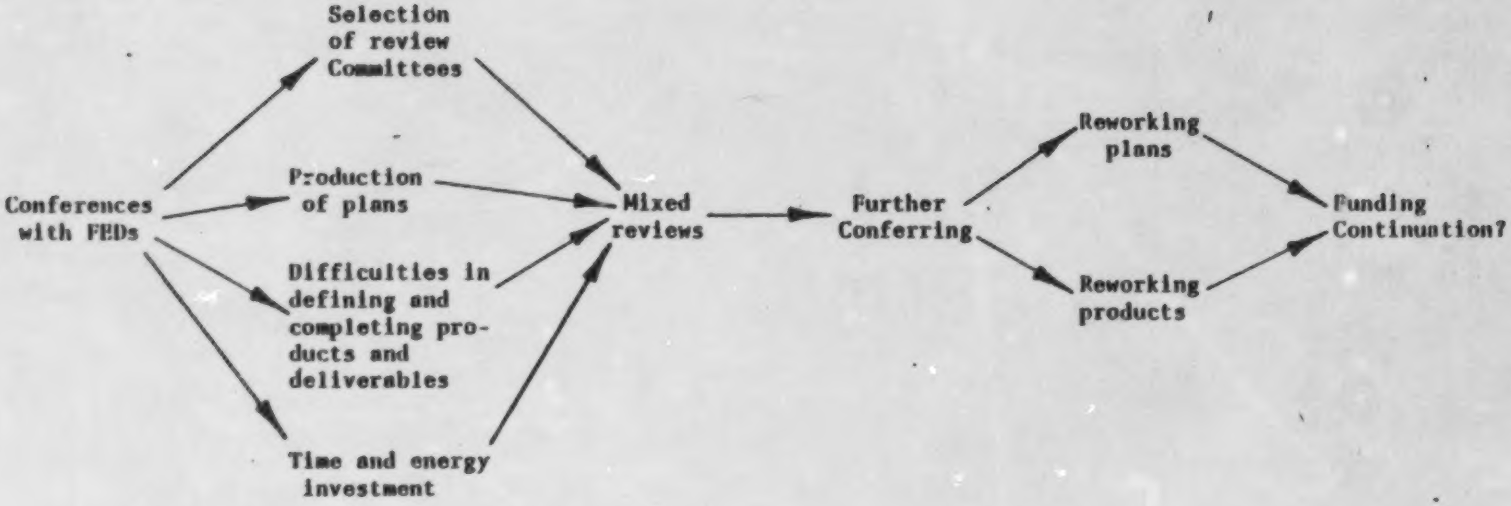
Selection of review Committees
Conferences with FEDs
Production of plans
Difficulties in defining and completing products and deliverables
Time and energy investment
Mixed reviews
Further Conferring
Reworking plans
Reworking products
Funding Continuation?

Figure 10.4 Aspects of the Review and Stepwise Funding Process

Beyond being on the advisory board, he also served as a consultant to the director of IAP, helped plan meetings, and served as a group process facilitator at some of the meetings. None of the others on the advisory board were that involved.

One was more a linkage with minority members and women in the project, by reason of being a black woman. Her interests were more toward social action, consequently she moved toward more time involvement with the consultative assistance part of IAP. Further, her experience as a minority activist over the years attracted the more activist group in IAP to her. If one adopts the "underdog"/"overdog" perspective of the Becker and Gouldner debate, she aligned with the former.

The third was more methodologically oriented and more concerned with aspects of the Inquiry phase of the project. He had invitations to help at training workshops, but had schedule complications. His involvement with participants was more in reading and reacting to papers from the Inquiry and Formative Evaluation Groups.

One was perceived as more critic than advocate after writing a devastating commentary after Phase I (in Year III) which raised the hackles of many of the IAP staff. In his view, the staff, in general, had neither the experience nor maturity to carry out a number of the central tasks of the charge.

Overall several generalizations seem important about the group of advisors. First, they, too, were a group mostly new to each other although some personal acquaintanceship did exist and the writings of some were quite well known to some of the others. Three of the four consultants came together for the first time at the February Meeting. The acquaintance process and several of its consequences appeared in one set of notes by Smith.

> We spent considerable time together, checking perceptions and interpretations but also exploring more basic points of view about educational theory, educational inquiry, and change in urban schools. This had its own kind of personal rewards as well as pluses and minuses in terms of coming to know IAP. My impression then, and now, that it was a necessity for our continued involvement as members of the advisory board. But the point here is, it did have its effect on the amount and kind of data collected. (PD/Y3)

Being "new to each other" means that IAP had another subgroup which had to become a group, that is, find an identity, a way of working together, a point of view. The time involved in that seems always greater than project personnel realize. The intellectual stimulation within such groups is usually high, and was in IAP, and adds to the professional development of the individual advisors but the benefits to the project often are slow in coming.

Second, as individuals they were extremely busy with their own responsibilities in their home institutions and with their own professional agendas. For a variety of reasons they never met as a total group throughout the duration of the project. This left the project managers receiving varied kinds of criticism and advocacy, which posed another set of issues.

Third, they came into the project late. The first meeting at which it was anticipated they would all attend was the February Conference, a year and two months after the contract had been signed (at the beginning of Year III), the majority of personnel hired, and a large portion of the Inquiry work, at least the initial data-gathering already completed.

Because the Advisory Group identified with different parts of IAP and took varying stances within the critical advocate role, the "advising" in memos and conversations was varied, divergent, and often conflicting. The use of that advice became problematic. In a sense, we are back to the very substantive heart of IAP--how does one know and learn, how does one help and use, and how does one link up or articulate. In part we are left with a feeling similar to that expressed in Anatomy of Educational Innovation.

> Innovative organizations in public education appear to be creating a new role, that of the well paid, highly visible consultant...
>
> ...when one's problems are pervasive interpersonal social skills, as teaching is in part, short term encounters seem as helpful as dew in a drought. In summary, at Kensington, technical rationality, the ordering of organizational structures and processes of goal achievement, involved the use of consultants in early staff socialization experiences and in later program and staff modification. Milford's and Kensington's attempts to innovate through the use of consultants was a bold if not highly successful foray (1971, pp. 382-384).

In addition, we have one additional impression. When a project is basically "well-in-hand," outside critical advocates can enlarge upon, embellish, provide a "frosting on the cake" which can be very important for a project. Creative insights and altered perspectives are rare and can be important. When the problems in an organization are more fundamental, more complicated, and more contingent as was the case of IAP, something more drastic than a few days a year advisory group seems necessary.

3. INTERNAL RELATIONS:
PROCEDURES, PROCESSES, AND STRUCTURES

The Inability to Cope

"Coping" is one of those words which has come to have special meaning for us beyond the simple dictionary definition of

> to maintain a contest or combat usually on even terms or with success...[and]...to face or encounter and to find necessary expedients to overcome problems and difficulties...

Connotatively the word seems to reflect that one has fallen upon difficult times or one's world has turned particularly harsh so that one's survival is threatened. In a sense the very standards of one's judgment are altered. Novel, imaginative, exotic resolutions are not on one's mind. Rather, contending, holding on, surviving become the imperatives. In our view (not to mention the FED reviewers), the project leadership was not able to cope, not able "to maintain a contest or even terms or with success." The discussion here attempts to illuminate and give further focus to that generalization.

Managerial Perspectives and Style

The leaders of the Inquiry and Assistance Project were intriguing, fascinating, interesting individuals in their own right, and, obviously very important to the organization qua organization. They have appeared throughout the document. Here we make an additional analytical interpretation or two regarding their perspectives and styles.

The Multiple Agendas and Priorities

The technologist or profit-making entrepreneur simplifies his managerial problems enormously by having a simple, clear and usually agreed upon image of his goal. This was never the case of IAP and its leaders. From its inception until its conclusion, IAP was frustrated by always having a multiple agenda, in the sense of several goals which often were only partially overlapping and which on occasion were conflicting if not mutually exclusive. The agenda included these items: 1) the original complex mandate from the FEDs; 2) the content of the ideology, especially race and minority involvement, participatory decision-making, use of group process techniques in internal problem-solving. reflection upon action; 3) the demands of their own career serials, that is, next steps in personal and professional growth and development; and 4) the press of survival of their home organizations, ARC and GPC, both of which were soft money organizations.

One further example vividly clarifies our point.

> IAP: That is a perennial issue and I think...
>
> OBS: You want to divert off on that for a couple of minutes and talk a little bit about that cause...
>
> IAP: The affirmative action, ARC feels it's done better by that than a lot of places. Ideological commitment because they're really trying to practically work it out. Part of it's a real belief that to be effective in cities and urban areas your common experience with the people that you're working with is important, your credibility with the people is important, and that there are other ways to get those, but one of the best ways is to be from the same background, and to be a member of the same group. So ARC has consistently hired minority people who on some criteria are not qualified but that they're being hired--I guess on standard criteria. But feeling that they have a lot of other qualifications. Feeling two things. One, they have a lot of other qualifications that make them superior to the other candidates that do qualify. And second, believing that we do some kind of training, that the people could learn the skills. It's no big deal. And you've seen that issue display itself throughout IAP. And I think where we fall down is trying, being unrealistic about what that meant. We've never succeeded in getting up front funding to deal with it. We maybe hid behind honest appraisal of people's skills. And hid from doing that. It's such a sensitive issue. To say, "Hey, you really can't write or read." Something they are reluctant to deal with. And if ARC continues, that will probably be one of the best benefits to the organization from the IAP experience. And again, the FEDs said this stuff is gonna force us in future to come to terms with that, or something different. I think they'll still try to hire the same people, but I think they'll be more in tune to what's going to be necessary. Now one of the staff has something, I remember from early in the project somewhere, I can't remember the exact phrasing. He said, "Don't put us in the typical situation of low performance." That isn't the right words. But he said, "Black people always get hired for stuff and then they're being abandoned, and then they don't perform at the level desired." And that's the gist of what he said. And that's in a way what happened. (TI/Y5)

Such multiple agendas and conflicting priorities were both excitement and problem, hope and frustration of IAP.

The Complexity of IAP

From the managers' point of view the overwhelming complexity of the project created a set of problems which they were never able to get on top of, and this, in turn, created significant internal pressures on the leaders and eventually contributed to the multiple conflicts in IAP. In the words of one, early on in the project,

> Well, I think everyone knew. Um...yes, I guess if you pull people apart, pull aside at that point, and say, "You know, now what is IAP's biggest problem?" They would say building relationships, getting entry in the ten settings, developing relationships between ARC and GPC...I felt it very keenly. (TI/YS)

In regard to other items, differences among the FEDs, ARC and GPC existed. For example, in the conception and timing of consultative assistance work and in the relationship of the consultative assistance work to inquiry in the ten settings there was little clarity. The ambivalence worked itself out organizationally:

> So, but also, underlying it, distrust between the two organizations. The way we handle all that is we insist that anytime someone from GPC goes to Southwestern City someone from ARC is there, and anytime someone from ARC wanders out into a school, ten blocks from the ARC office, somebody from GPC is there. It really is a bad extreme, that any IAP effort with consultative assistance is blocked by both sides, and that is the way you go, you know? No, I guess I need to emphasize collaboration, but we took it quite serious, I mean there were some crazy attempts at complete collaboration. (TI/YS)

When conferences were set for dealing intensively with an issue, such as the Task III Consultative Assistance, other events would intervene.

> Another factor in IAP...was all the different kinds of cycles in the damn pattern. The two I'm thinking about now are the phases, which was what was really built into the contract...and the money is put into the contract once a year, and thus we had another sort of built-in phasing problem, funding, which was on an annual basis in December... The FEDs used that fact to say, "Hey, we've gotten to a new funding period at the end of December and we want you to prepare these documents and answer these concerns." Primarily they had to do with consultative assistance. Um, the preparation for the new funding, so that put an emergency on, and sort of reset the priorities of the project. We got to take this seriously. So I called the meeting, the Task III meeting....Well, we said the meeting has to go to defining and answering the FED's letter, and in some senses we all were re-shaping the project....People came away from the meeting feeling it was successful. There was still some anger. There were strong feelings that the FEDs had stepped in very heavy-handed. (TI/YS)

Mixed in with these activities were plans for reorganization "away from some of the incredible collaborative team staff, where every task had two teams, one at each site," plans for conceptual analysis papers, and even statements regarding the overall purposes of IAP, and continuous problems developing specific concrete budget plans. In addition were the changing activities and the changing patterns of informal interaction of several of the senior people in each of the Centers. These created dissatisfactions which then became additional problems on the never-shortening agenda.

While these comments concern items early in the project's history, the complexity of events continued throughout. The tangles were both antecedent to and consequence of the project's leadership.

The Merger: Duplicating Leaders

Earlier we commented that the research proposal and the formal contract developed in response to the RFP left IAP with a set of givens. One of these involved the melding of two organizations, ARC and GPC, geographically separated by a thousand miles. As with each of the givens, the managers had to develop specific operational procedures to take account of the more general issue. Another of the interviewees spoke directly to one such resolution:

> IAP: Maybe we should pursue the collaboration thing.
>
> OBS: Talk to that if you want. That's obviously a theme.
>
> IAP: Then, well, the notion was we were all gonna be in on everything. Every task. There were seven tasks. Each task had two co-leaders, one from GPC and one from ARC. And now I wonder if we didn't do that to make sure we had our hands in everything in terms of that conceptual monitoring. I'm sure that was only a little piece. The other piece was that we were all gonna learn from each other. Some problems began to develop, I don't remember the exact...(TI/Y5)

Co-leadership is an expensive solution in at least two ways: two people to do one job, and the interaction time in establishing a special kind of relationship and then solving the particular substantive task itself. It has overtones of team teaching versus self-contained classroom teaching (Smith and Keith, 1971) and the creation of small but important new settings (Sarason, 1972). These consequences added to the difficulty in management's coping.

Overcommitment of Leaders

While the following excerpt is from one individual, the phenomenon is more general.

> IAP: I was really hopelessly overcommitted in terms of what I was trying to do. I think that's one of my great failings and one of the things that I'm trying hardest to deal with now.
>
> OBS: Too many involvements?
>
> Leader: Yeah, you get ideas and then you think, or somebody says, "Well, gee, you might be interested in doing this." And you think, "Well, yeah, that might lead to something." Pretty soon you're doing six different things and not doing any of them well. And it's hard to maintain an organization like that depends on soft money, and chart some kind of course. (TI, Y5)

Overcommitment has multiple consequences. The quote reveals guilt, and perception of less adequate accomplishments. Others made additional comments regarding mental health problems and family problems. Organizationally a very critical problem occurred with the inexperience of the new staff--the field researchers, the consultative assisters, those doing linkage, and even the first level supervisors.

Insert Figure 10.5 about here

Management by Crisis

> Well, during that whole period I don't think it ever got that much better because I was working on those things. It was always a question of what was most pressing--sort of management by crisis style that just wasn't very effective. (TI/Y5)

That quote from one of IAP's leaders captures both the general problem and one of its antecedents, unfinished prior project activities. Each of the two centers, ARC and GPC had other projects, tag-ends that needed finishing. Bringing a large project to conclusion is a difficult, demanding, and time-consuming task. Educational R & D organizations seem particularly susceptible to the needs of their best talent in the ending and beginning of projects. This need is accentuated in soft money organizations because those two critical times often overlap. Such was the case with IAP.

The perceived need to promise so much so quickly to win a competitive contract places large demands on project management. For instance, in the first few months all the field researchers were to be hired, trained, and in place. This was to be done collaboratively among the FEDs, ARC, GPC, and personnel from the ten settings. Meanwhile, the project administrators were busy for several weeks working out the complicated budgetary details of the ARC and GPC subcontract. The managers were behind before they started and could never catch up.

A third condition related to the issue of management by crisis was the part-time nature of the project leadership personnel. All had other responsibilities; two were half to three-fourths elsewhere. Figure 10.6 contains these data.

Insert Figure 10.6 about here

One of the consequences of management by crisis is an overresponsiveness and a loss of organizational identity. One participant stated it more pungently.

> Yeah, um...I think that a lot of the decisions were made either because to please the FEDs or to please internal pressures without trying to really analyze whether there was a research reason or

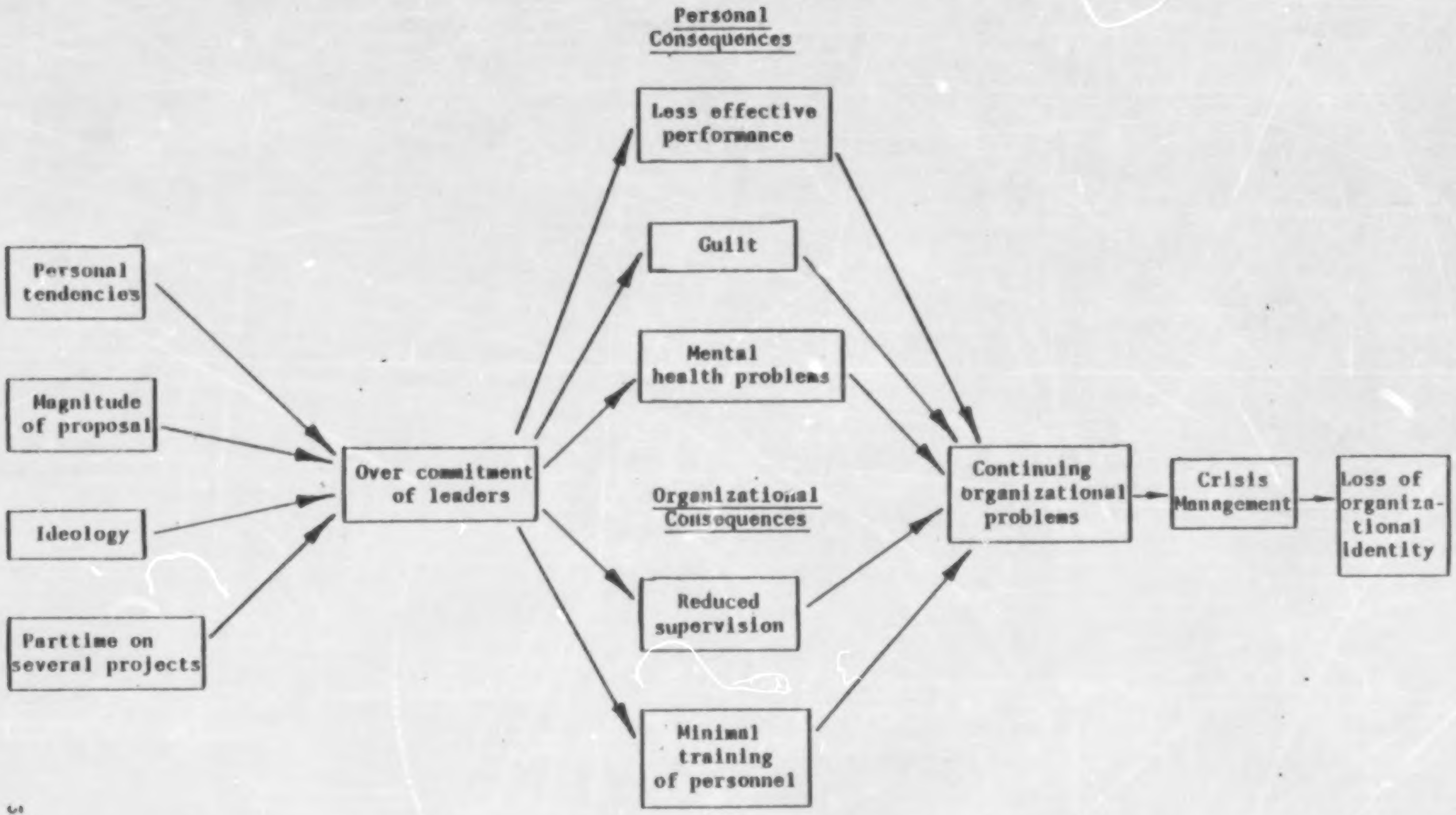
Personal Consequences
Personal tendencies
Magnitude of proposal
Ideology
Parttime on several projects
Over commitment of leaders
Less effective performance
Guilt
Mental health problems
Organizational Consequences
Reduced supervision
Minimal training of personnel
Continuing organizational problems
Crisis Management
Loss of organizational identity

Figure 10.5 Aspects of Overcommitment of Leaders

Individual	1st 12 months	2nd 9 months
A	75%	60%
B	80%	80%
C	26%	26%
D	54%	54%
E	70%	80%

Figure 10.6 Percent of Time on IAP for Five Key Leaders (PD/Y1)

> some kind of a reason to back it. There were a lot of things that were done to please uh...the research people or the consultative assistance people, or to please personalities, or to please certain issues, and nobody questioned whether the research would be damaged by it or not. Or least to my knowledge, nobody did. (TI/Y5)

Logistical Problems

As people talked about issues in management and administration, the interconnected strands of antecedents and consequences kept reappearing in different combinations.

> Then, the other was just expansion. The um...in one of our studies one of the things that we found consistently was groups--the characteristic pattern was that a small group of people worked together in one location and developed some strategy for helping and then they're funded and they expand their staff and they begin to work at geographically dispersed sites and that creates enormous problems. For example, you can't run an organization with 15 people the same way you run an organization with seven or eight people. Certain things start to happen. People--where you used to be able to just informally decide who was going to go on vacation when, suddenly you have a lot of logistical problems about who's gonna do that and you have to have somebody figure that out. Or travel, or salary raises, or you know, all of these kinds of management problems that begin to take over. Then, when you have geographically dispersed sites, you have the problem which I think is partly a problem--a major problem of the field researchers which is that people especially given the lack of any kind of meaningful supervision coming out of Central City, people tend to develop loyalties and ties with the people that they're dealing with day by day. (TI, Y5)

In the view of one of the leaders, expansion and geographical dispersion, what we have called givens, items set by the contract, worked their way into the processes and issues of management, or if you like, logistical problems in running an organization.

In most organizations, administrators play counseling and human relations roles, or at least a need for such interaction exists. A not atypical example occurred in another interview, late in the life of IAP.

> IAP: You know the place. IAP has had its problems. I think I mentioned that to you last time and I'm sure the others are gonna mention it to you a lot.
>
> OBS: Yeah, I've heard some of that from all kinds of people.
>
> IAP: But personally, I don't know what I'm doing at this point. I don't know, I think that's a part of the story.
>
> OBS: Well, you want to talk a little bit about that and weave it into the story in terms of...
>
> IAP: In some ways it's not the most fascinating part of the story. Just the '60s playing themselves out in a way. People's careers

> entering this when they did, where they're going next. I guess the burn-out thing in a way. You know, I'm not even sure I want to do research next year or teach, I don't know whether that's just, you know, I've heard from other people that in similar kinds of organizations that does happen. Let's not talk, that's not so much fun. Some other parts. (TI/Y5)

Whether it's settling conflicts, buoying up momentary, or in this case, more long term, sagging spirits, helping focus careers, (and soft money organizations have real and special problems here), administrators have difficult and compelling tasks to be done in handling the day-to day logistics of keeping the organization moving along.

A consultant, after an early planning meeting raised to IAP management, the interplay of budget, time overload and organizational consequences. These items fed into problems of logistics.

> The "macro-problems" of time overload and dollar insufficiency are crucial, and I reiterate the need for the two of you to do some active diagnosis and invention of solutions very promptly. Unless you do so soon, habits of time and dollar use will get built into people's working assumptions and self[illegible]ection will become almost impossible. Already, people tend to do problem-solving without serious examination of time and dollar costs (e.g., the way the research coordinators allocated personnel to sites). To give you an idea of the scale of attention required, I think you should shoot for the creation of between 5 and 10% of total budget in the form of organizational "slack." That will require some painful decisions about dropping or narrowing some present activities, and you will say that "it cannot be done." But unless you approach it on that scale (note that your spending is now at a 5-10% over budget rate, when it ought to be something like a 10% under figure, with slack available for unanticipated contingencies), the enterprise will get into not only fiscal trouble, but worse and worse emotional trouble--overload, burn-out, bitterness, and the rest. There are undoubtedly technical problems of many sorts, but Joe at the FEDs should be able to problem-solve them with you. (PD/Y2)

No one in the central management had a reputation of being a "good detail person." To the contrary, complaints about requests being ignored, deadlines coming and going, small items lost in the system occurred throughout the life of the project. For example, a memo on a set of agreements was lost for weeks in the files as a secretary was in and out for reasons of illness, job sharing and job turnover. Or in the words of one field researcher:

> And I think maybe people might have told you that we went through like three or four computer coding manuals before we said--you know, we got finally the final version. It turned out to be not final. Um...and we went though different field note forms. And we went through--like, oh, I don't know, changes of procedures constantly. (TI/Y5)

While complaints over details can often be a displacement from other more serious issues, the cumulating weight of logistical items have their own importance.

The generality and importance of their problem, well beyond IAP, appears graphically in Pressman and Wildavsky's little book, with the long title, of which Implementation is the first word.

> In our study of implementation, we have deliberately chosen case material in which dramatic elements that are essentially self-explanatory are ruled out. There was no great conflict. Everyone agreed. There was only minimum publicity. The issue was not one of overriding political importance. Essential funds were on hand at the right time. The evils that afflicted the EDA program in Oakland were of a prosaic and everyday character. Agreements had to be maintained after they were reached. Numerous approvals and clearances had to be obtained from a variety of participants. Failure to recognize that these perfectly ordinary circumstances present serious obstacles to implementation inhibits learning. If one is always looking for unusual circumstances and dramatic events, he cannot appreciate how difficult it is to make the ordinary happen.
>
> People now appear to think that implementation should be easy; they are, therefore, upset when expected events do not occur or turn out badly. We would consider our effort a success if more people began with the understanding that implementation, under the best of circumstances, is exceedingly difficult. They would, therefore, be pleasantly surprised when a few good things really happened. (1973, pp. XII-XIII)

Comparable problems appear in schools (Gross et al, 1972) and if the point is enlarged to the creation of new settings, a number of statements are available now for the thoughtful educational administrator (Sarason, 1972; Stinchcomb, 1965; Smith and Keith, 1971; Goodlad, 1975, Bentzen et al, 1974).

Creating a Different Intellectual Climate

One of the problems that came up in several discussions was the inability of the project leaders to create a stimulating intellectual climate. In the middle of a long discussion on the nature of educational research and its usefulness the key comment was,

> We just touched on that...cause I haven't been allowed to have, to do a big part. You get that kind of risk, if you feel secure intellectually. The environment of the project is not stimulating enough.

The intricacies of what that climate might be came in several related comments:

> ...but we were trying to do something different with research. And the norms of researchers being allowed time to read, to go to discussions that don't seem right on the topic, to talk to colleagues,

> just bull-shitting on what they're doing. It's not part of the, it's never been part of the set up. And there're reasons and rationales. I've bought into some of them and not into others.

And then power in the original ideas and hopes of IAP arose again in specific form.

> ...they've been a source of strength. It's just different kinds of research. They don't sit up in the ivory tower....She asks the question you're not going to get in graduate seminars. And in a way you're not going to get it. It's stimulating but it's a different...it's part of a different world. And it's...doesn't necessarily...I don't think we've found a way to really capitalize on that...enrich that academic, analytical stuff. Using that in a way that it will still be acceptable to the academic peer world.

To the question, "How is it different, though?" The response, still fumbling, in the best sense of exploring,

> It's a sensitivity to nuance. Say, I'm posing a research question. And our minds are picking up all the things behind that question, the traditions that lead me to ask that question. Now I'm asked something that kind of confronts me, some assumptions underneath there, usually assumptions having to do with class routine, school, and stuff...and attitudes of researchers toward their subjects.... You're also the white researcher, and any researcher, I don't even know if it's white, any researcher would...you know, their whole issue of what's the value of research?...Yeah, it keeps, you know... when the FEDs say there's no intellectual stimulation...there's a very special kind of stimulation that I value dearly. ...it's different, and I'm not sure I've figured out how to use it, to build on. So that the stuff...I do is richer in a way that other stuff isn't. And the attention to that diverts you from some other things that are...that you need to do to survive in that research world. (TI/YS)

In our post-IAP interviews we had a number of conversations like that in IAP. We were stimulated by them. They represented, in our view, the best of what IAP was to be. We were also told that they weren't prevalent in IAP during its several years' existence.

Where substantive ideas begin and end, particularly in relation to where ideology begins and ends is not clear. In the perception of many of the IAP staff "the idea of IAP" attracted and sustained, long after personal conflicts had faded into the background and long after the FEDs had terminated the contract. As one individual put it:

> Well, I guess I feel that the ideas...I'm currently trying to carry out in the new project that we're doing, the ideas that were reflected in that IAP proposal. And, so as far as I can see, they were never carried out. And so I don't...so, I still have a lot of faith

> in the ideas. One of the things that really bothers me as I go around and talk to people, and this is quite typical; people don't look at IAP and say--I mean like federal people could say--say, "Well, it was a good idea, but it wasn't carried out very well." They say, "Well, that set of ideas is really not very good." (TI/Y5)

So in the eyes of one leader, the ideas in the original proposal were there at the outset and now, at the end of the project, remain potent but untried.

Conclusion

The functions as well as the dysfunctions of several aspects of IAP were noted in one interview when the individual spoke of favorable aspects of the project.

> One thing that made me feel good was the number of different people involved in the project. It felt good that so many people could get involved....A second thing is the largeness of the project. These problems are happening all over and we tried to get information from many areas...[third]...we all tried to come together and unify our ideas, but many things were not attended to. (TI/Y5)

As in all the interviews, one person's focus combines elements we have chosen to separate. Here, the key sentence is, "but many things were not attended to." The diversity in people pressages the next section.

Personnel: Problems, Policy, and Procedures

Almost everyone who came in contact with IAP or some part of it--the groups at the FED, at ARC, at GPC, at the Eastern City Branch, the advisors, or the reviewers--remarked on what an interesting and exciting group of people had been brought together. We share that belief. Because they were such an interesting group they were both antecedent and consequence to problems in administering and managing IAP.

Complications in Personnel Selection

In an earlier chapter we cited some of the details in the hiring of members of the Formative Evaluation Group. Little difference existed in procedures in hring field researchers, consultative assisters, and first level coordinators and supervisors. For instance, another individual commented:

> Um...you know, the interviewing process was ridiculous to a grand degree. I was interviewed like three, or four, or five times and nobody ever got in touch with me. And finally I got a phone call and a telegram telling me that "Yes, I was hired." And, um...I really didnt' know exactly what I was going to do.. (TI/Y5)

From such interviews and documents we were led to several concepts and hypotheses. 1) In the LAP context, decisions tended to be complicated, took considerable time, and took more time than anticipated; 2) often this was accentuated by participatory decision-making; 3) the time costs eventually influenced the work activities in this instance, the time spent collecting formative evaluation data; 4) the race and minority issues intertwined in several ways; and 5) the multiple criteria re-experience--in urban schools, in general research, in specific field work--made it difficult to find qualified personnel. Figure 10.7 is an attempt to lay out the analysis as part of a general interlocking casual analysis.

Insert Figure 10.7 about here

Essentially we are arguing several strands of ideas. By analyzing the management problems on hiring at a more general level the regularities become more apparent and more useful in thinking about not only IAP but other educational settings, organizations, and management problems and strategies. The key concepts--minimal prior organizational structure, participatory decision-making, time expenditures, delays in carrying out of tasks, and the rippling of effects throughout the organization--are important substantive issues toward our larger conception of Federal Policy in Action.

Miscasting and Mismatching

While the complications of merger, geographical distance and rapid growth pervaded IAP early on, nowhere were the influences felt more strongly than in what we have labeled "miscasting and mismatching" of individuals and positions. As one member phrased it:

> I just--well, I think there was no vision. I think nobody knew it. I don't think any one person knew, or had a vision of what the project should have been or was going to be like. And I think everybody was doing their own little piece, and could care less about anybody else's little piece. And when they got the puzzle together the pieces just didn't fit. I think they miscast 90% of the people. I think that very few people could have done the job that they were assigned to do. One, because the job was undoable. And the second was because the person shouldn't have been assigned that job. Yeah, it's true. She had no background in research, she was research coordinator. She had never done a case study, she was supposed to tell them how to do a case study. Her background was in educational administration. How was she going to do a job of research coordinator? And nobody proceeded to tell her what she should do either. (TI/Y5)

In most organizations, we would guess, people tend to drift, to select or to be moved into slots where they have a chance to contribute, to succeed, to have some self esteem. At IAP too much happened too soon, the fit of individuals and positions was not there and observers would comment on the interesting people in the organization, the interesting tasks, and the frustrating inability of getting things to happen.

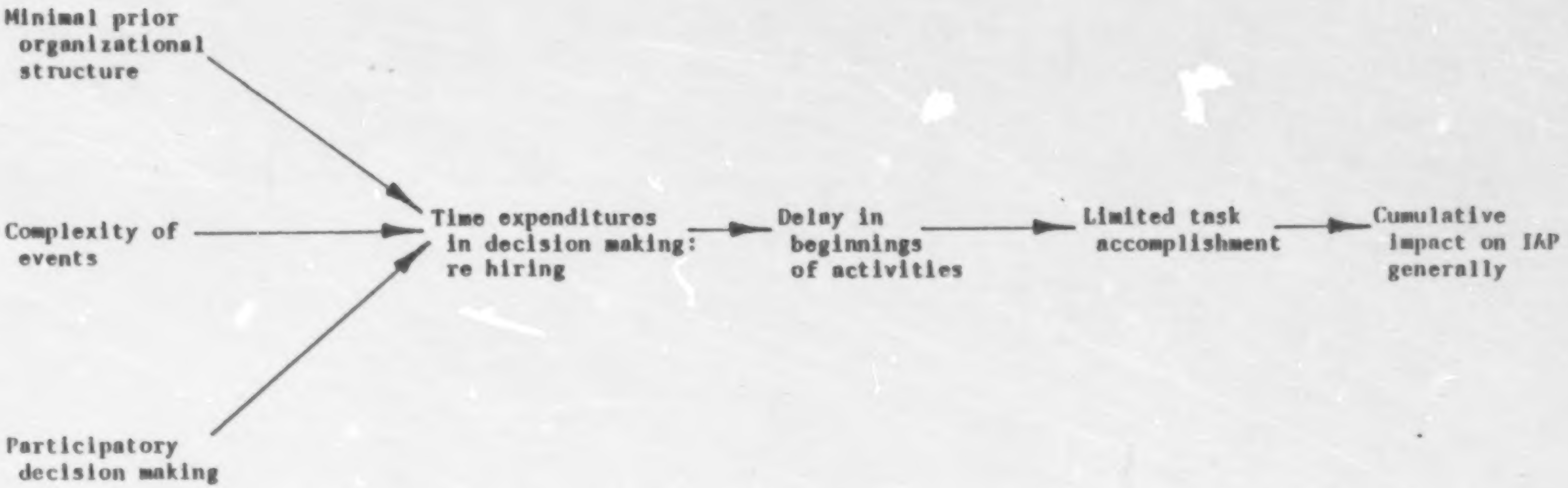
Minimal prior organizational structure
Complexity of events
Participatory decision making
Time expenditures in decision making: re hiring
Delay in beginnings of activities
Limited task accomplishment
Cumulative impact on IAP generally

Figure 10.7 A General Analysis of a Specific But Frequent Event in IAP

Salaries

Financial problems ran through the organization from early to late. Because they intertwine with all aspects of the organization they created severe difficulties for management. The winning of a million-dollar-a-year contract as we indicated changed the size of the parent organizations dramatically. Working through complicated subcontracts took significant administrative time. And, finally there were important personnel problems regarding salaries. Blending the two organizations produced salary discrepancies of as much as five to ten thousand dollars for similar positions and kinds of work. These didn't sit well.

> During those first three or four months he was running his ass off. And it was--it was really grating on that differential between their pay. (TI/Y5)

Ideological aspects intertwined with differences between the leaders regarding a more monastic life style versus a national shop competitive with other educational R & D organizations. That intertwined with ARC's image of its more general purposes and goals.

> ARC: Gets into the ideology issues.
>
> OBS: Yeah, it plays back into what's your whole organization about?
>
> ARC: And also the notion that we had to stay cheap so people could really use us. That our charging rates had to, in other words, if some community group wanted us to come in and help and we're getting paid professional fees they couldn't afford us.

In its more general form, the problem the ideology posed for management was stated vividly by one member of IAP.

> Salary had always been an issue with ARC because of this movement. There's a professional. Because of, God, it gets back to the minority thing. Why reward degrees? Why should a Ph.D. get more than someone who's been working in the community five years? How about need? Should someone with a large family get more than someone with no family? How long have you been in the organization? There's a wonderful analytical think-piece on salaries during that, from that same period, right before IAP. Just the dilemmas around ARC about salaries... (TI/Y5)

Clarity of guidelines and acceptance of any set of guidelines were exacerbated by the merger and the internal conflicts among the leaders.

Resignations

People flowed in and out, voluntarily and unvoluntarily, of IAP for many reasons, some of which related to the evolving structure of the organization.

> OBS: Talk a little bit about that more concretely. Again if you've got an illustration that follows...
>
> IAP: GPC was putting out handouts to the Southwestern schools. Nothing to do with anything in the setting. And it's funny, cause you know, I accept the notion you've got to build rapport. I accept the notion that there may be some standard things you got to do when you're working with people, no matter what your base, no matter what you're going to ultimately do. I know the needs of the people themselves and the way they perceive their needs are important. You cannot match what's behind you until you do research. I know all that, but I guess I had the feeling that they had their strong agenda and so did Midwest. The agendas were there. Which I think was really demoralizing for all the researchers. When I talked to secondary analysts about that, he's another person who resigned, he felt, he said, "There's no outlet here. I know this stuff. There's no chance within the IAP contract of anyone using it." (TI/YS)

While other factors existed, conflict as a push and a place to go to as a pull, the problems posed for management were critical. This individual, in the eyes of most had good analytical talent, had just gotten established in IAP, then he left.

Supervision

Throughout the project, that is, at multiple levels in the administrative hierarchy and multiple points in the history of the project, problems in supervision existed. Tangles occurred with the givens, the ideology and inexperience of several kinds. One interviewee vividly presented those tangles. The issue arose during a discussion of an important methodological issue, what can be learned from negative instances, large and small. The conversation went this way.

> Supervisor: I think you can learn a lot from a negative, I guess that's a qualitative researcher point of view. I don't think there's any such thing as no data. And I never was very successful in convincing people of that.
>
> OBS: Which people?
>
> SUP: The CAs. I use Consultative Assisters generically. It wasn't just them.
>
> OBS: How about the field researchers themselves?
>
> SUP: About what issue?
>
> OBS: Learning from negative instances.
>
> SUP: Not too good. Some of them are. And that played into that. One felt there was nothing to learn, because his project was such a bomb. And I had most contact with him of all the site researchers.
>
> OBS: You coordinated that one?

SUP: I coordinated that setting, so that's an important thing for me to understand. Used to have two-hour discussions every week, sometimes twice a week. And the discussion was, "You got to get into the schools, the schools are going ahead and living their lives. They're not connecting up with this program. There's something important to understand about that." And sometimes he'd say, "All right." I guess usually his style was to say, "Okay," he'd do that, but then I'd check the next week and he hadn't done it.

OBS: These phone call checks?

SUP: What?

OBS: These phone calls typical?

SUP: Yeah, oh yeah.

OBS: But he could never see the problematic aspects of "Okay, so they're not doing what they're supposed to be doing, but they're still alive and kicking"...?

SUP: Something's happening.

OBS: Yeah.

SUP: It plays back to the inexperience in field researching. Inexperience makes you tend to focus mostly on formal events. Inexperience makes you less able to penetrate the meat, what seems to be nothing, to find the something. I think inexperience made it very difficult for them to handle all the things they had to do and also do the research. And I guess that gets back to the affirmative action. It's like an article of faith of human capabilities and maybe a lack of realism about what's necessary to develop a school. I haven't learned my lesson yet, I still believe in the power of untrained researchers. I have to figure out now how to pull it off.

OBS: Talk a little bit about that in terms of that article of faith in untrained researchers and how to pull it off.

SUP: I guess part of it's a belief that people have just not been given opportunities. People will rise to opportunity. Another part is that through conversation, as long as it's regular and ongoing, you can help people gain these skills in observation and analysis. That the importance of the cause will provide a lot of the motivation. I wonder if...I felt like I taught myself an awful lot. ...my teachers took a very laissez-faire approach. I taught myself a lot of stuff...I really don't have an understanding that some other people don't work at it.

OBS: You're not disabused of all of that?

SUP: I ought to be. I'd be more careful, be sure the training thing was taken care of better than it was...

OBS: Beyond conversation, regular and ongoing, what would that include?

SUP: To overcome the geographical thing. I mean we had this notion of site advisors. Each field researcher was going to have a local person who would help them with their research. And I

> guess in our mind it was both supervisory and colleagial. Not supervisory so much as quality control. And collegial.
>
> OBS: Now these are the advisors, not the coordinators?
>
> SUP: Right. These are local academics. You'd go hire them. Somebody who does this kind of research. And what happened, overload is an important issue. To pick a situation that had so much unrealism, and problematical aspects and exploratory aspects, and then to overload it. Just terrible....How it plays out with the site advisors. I think the impulse was wise, wise as hell. But as things started swinging there, in the first few months, we had to hire a field researcher, had to get the setting relationships, had to write stuff, we always had to document everything we did. It got low priority. We didn't hire many. Of those situations... Then the summer workshop, some of the field researchers, most of the site advisors had not been hired by the summer workshop. And then the summer workshop...
>
> OBS: This is Year II?
>
> SUP: Yeah, the first real chance for all of us to get together with the field researchers. Somebody else started doing this organizing. They were professionals. Getting supervised too closely. Or some people were attempting to supervise us too closely. You know, it's an important issue to him, the whole contract research issue. So he did that for his own reasons. And I guess we accepted it because it went along with our notion that people should be treated as professionals, even if they weren't. And one of the issues was why should you pick the site advisors and why should they be, have any kind of quality control tinge to them? So we dropped it. They became purely colleagues that the site researchers would set up, we would help and we would have to approve them ultimately. The money was cut back....I was responding to the question what would I do differently. So I would take the site advisor thing a lot more seriously. (TI/YS)

The supervision was complicated by project ideology, by substantive quandaries in the role of professionals in a formal organization, by further new organizational relations on the form of a dyadic relationship between a field researcher and a local academic, by limited resources, and by ineffectiveness of formal training attempts.

The project brought vital experience to all the members of the upper echelons in IAP. One administrator spoke this way:

> OBS: How would you handle something like it. It seems to me that he, in this case, becomes a classic barrier in some sense, an antagonist in another sense, how would you handle that part differently? Cause you know there'll be a him or a her or somebody that would pop up in this kind of situation all the time.
>
> ADM: Well, I'll talk more convincingly from my own experience about what happens to minority people who are in situations where they don't have experience, don't do something to get....And I think I'll, there are several points, one of the things I'd go over the

early documents and try to find the points. My style is, you've probably seen it, is to try and mediate, to work things out. I think in the future I'm going to be a lot more self-critical. And if there are places where I think some path of action has happened that I can't live with, then I'm going to have to be willing to put myself on the line and be willing to quit. So if something like that came up again, I would talk from my experience and why I thought it was important, and I guess I would try to find compromises, but I'd be very wary of how far I would compromise.

OBS: You'd draw a line in effect? And have that bloody battle, if it's going to be a bloody battle...

ADM: If it's going to do you damage, and me damage, and the project damage. Although there's, and in some ways, a larger issue, the whole issue of supervising qualitative research. I still don't know, don't have the answers on that. We thought through the field data notes that we were going to be more in touch with what was going on in most...I guess, you know, you said it would be difficult and I guess that would be my best...

OBS: Yeah, again I don't have experience that way. I think alternatively, I'm in that kind of professor-student relationship, but there's some difference in the amount of experience. But the same kind of push for a kind of colleagiality. I have my own project and we go back and forth arguing on it. But again I've got a whole year...a course in the fall, a seminar in the spring. And they do a project in each of those increasing in scope, and then by the time they get a dissertation or whatever, they're at least on their third one. But it has some very, I think, real differences and I've never really explored with this, from being as you say a supervisor on a contract and with people you have hired.

ADM: We had a bad experience earlier, again in that other project. They funded us to do community work with innovative schools. We did a kind of qualitative evaluation in a school project there. And we hired an anthropology undergraduate, and there came, again we treated him like an independent person. He never produced anything written. And the only knowledge we had of what he was seeing was weekly conversations. And we ran into some problems when we ultimately tried to build on the technical assistance of that because we couldn't quite be quite convinced that some of the people in the setting didn't agree with his analysis. And we had to face this and that scared us all and got us into the notion we've got to have some regular kind of data, something to build on independently of the researchers. So that was the attempt to do the field data notes as not only recording but also some kind of quality control. (TI/YS)

Larger issues appear here on the reliance of earlier experience and the attempts to learn from it. But the inability to arrive at concrete organizational mechanisms still frustrated the project managers and contributed to the ongoing difficulties.

Another, and perhaps more forceful way of stating the supervisory consequences of the givens appeared in the reaction of one of the IAP participants to our early draft.

> The one idea I really missed in the document was the idea that the project became a production organization in which some became supervisors seeing to it that others delivered "products" on an assembly line wired to clock and calendar. The chief reason the Western City bunch split from the Midwest City bunch was to get out from under that supervision. We felt pushed, tugged, torn, punished, threatened, chewed up. My interpretation is that we were deprived of control over our own lives.
>
> It is possible to run an organization like an assembly line. Doing so has certain results, such as high absenteeism, alcoholism, and sabotage. It is also possible to run an organization in which workers have control over the parts of the work they are assigned. That has certain results, too, especially when the work is highly complex like the work in R & D, in contrast to the clarity and simplicity of the assembly line. You get less uniformity and accountability. You also get more productivity and greater feeling of well-being. (RD, Y6)

The Management and Resolution of Social Conflict

In a penetrating essay on leadership, Homans' (1962) analyzes briefly several key issues facing the commander of "the small warship." Ships are structured by tasks (for example, deck force and the below deck crews) and by rank (officers, chiefs and sailors). Keeping some balance among those groups rather than letting them set off from one another is one of the most difficult jobs of the commander, according to Homans. Later in his monograph on The Human Group (1950) he amplifies this analysis in his discussion of leadership. Our long chapter on conflict in IAP leads to the interpretation that this was one of the most basic set of problems confronting IAP's leadership and that it was never resolved satisfactorily.

Conceptually three of the most significant analyses of the interplay among social conflict, leadership and conflict resolution appear in H. H. Anderson's early papers (1937, 1945, 1946) on "integrative behavior," and in Sherif's concept of superordinate goals in his Robbers Cave experiments (1961) and in Whyte's (1953) brief but penetrating study of Action (A) Groups at Bethel some years ago. While we present these positions in some detail, even then they pale against the concrete reality of IAP. Gouldner (1954), Coser (1956) and Deutsch (1973) present major positions as well.

Anderson's Integrative Resolution

The most general theoretical statement of Anderson's, and a minimally cited one at that, was the 1937 work with kindergarten children. We have abstracted the theory into Figure D.8. The chain of concepts begins with differences among individuals in their needs, abilities and goals, producing conflict and incompatible actions. He argues that group members and leaders, teachers in his analysis, typically respond dominatively or integratively toward the conflict. He separates out compromising as a separate alternative. To the dominative reaction, higher frequencies of submission or resistance follow. Integrative reactions, seeking common purposes, produces higher frequences of creativity, spontaneity, and growth. Compromise does not remove the differences, although, we would add, it frequently allows other task activities to occur. Other times it creates more problems. A GPC member gave his perspective:

> The point about the differences between the two centers is well worth mentioning. However, important pieces of that are missing. For one, the norms of our center were to work together. We did not differentiate roles; i.e., we did not have the distinction of being a "CA" person or a "research" person or any other such titles that permeated the ARC structure. Yet we compromised for what we thought was the good of the project, and adopted some of their norms. Among those were to differentiate roles. In some ways that compromise almost tore our organization apart and did us harm. It was just one of many compromises that we made to ARC for the sake of the project, and therein lies another difference: they never did compromise. (RD, Y5)

Insert Figure 10.8 about here

Much of Anderson's later work involved carrying out observational studies of teachers and children in elementary schools as they worked through their daily activities. His attempts to measure dominative and integrative behavior gave important clarification to those alternatives.

Whyte's Feeling/Task Resolution

Whyte observed a half-dozen "democratically led" discussion groups characterized by conflict, frustration, and tension. He commented vividly about the events:

> ...it is not easy to lead a democratic discussion group. There are likely to be periods of confusion and frustration. At Bethel particularly, we observed a number of cases where the group reached an impasse in its discussions. The group would be unable to agree what course of action to take. Also it would be evident to the members, as it was to the observer, that there were interpersonal conflicts standing in the way of agreement.
>
> When this impasse was met, there were two diametrically opposed schools of thought concerning what the group should do. One school held that the deadlock could be resolved only if each member in turn described to the group how he felt about what had been going on. Critics of this school referred to the "feeling-draining" approach or to the "cesspool theory" of group dynamics. They argued that the interpersonal conflicts could be resolved only as the group members became actively involved in carrying through a course of action. The feeling-drainers felt that members of this school were afraid to make the emotional analyses necessary for good group process.

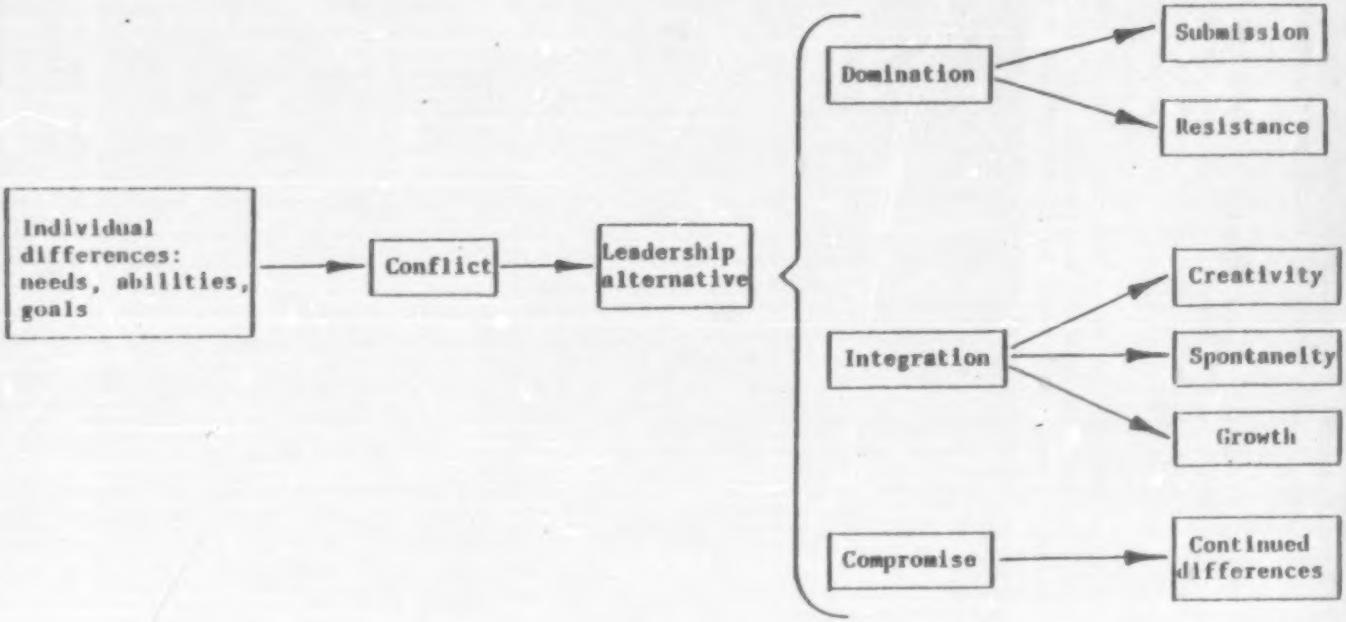
Individual differences: needs, abilities, goals
Conflict
Leadership alternative
Domination
Submission
Resistance
Integration
Creativity
Spontaneity
Growth
Compromise
Continued differences

Figure 10.8 H. H. Anderson's Early Theory of Conflict (1937) Patterned After Follett (1940)

> Unfortunately, neither school provided a solution to the problem. We observed the feeling-draining process again and again. It would go something like this. Facing an impasse, the members would spend the rest of the session reporting on and discussing their feelings. As the session wound up, someone would say, "Well, this has been a painful process, but it has been good for us. We've cleared up our misunderstandings, and we have become a group. Next time we'll be ready to push ahead." There would be general agreement here. But next time, after a little preliminary fencing, the members would find that they had fallen back to the old impasse--or had stumbled into a new one. So new feeling-draining was obviously called for, and the cycle would begin over again. The Bethel experience suggested to me that it is possible to drain a group's feelings every day and still have feelings left to drain. (1953, pp. 13-14)

Reports from a number of the early meetings of the IAP staff, carried the flavor of emotional "feeling-draining" and the resolve that now or next time we would be ready to work. Yet that time never arrived. At the final total staff conference at the end of Year IV in preparation for Phase III, the process occurred once again. Later in his discussion Whyte suggests his perspective on the resolution of interpersonal conflict in a task group.

> Nevertheless, even the most skillful leader sometimes comes to face an impasse: the group is making no progress toward any goal and interpersonal conflicts are clearly involved in this breakdown. What does the leader do then? Does he ignore the emotional conflicts in order to concentrate on tasks and goals? Does he abandon the tasks and goals temporarily in order to examine these emotional areas? Or is some other approach possible?
>
> If emotional conflicts are blocking progress, it is useless to ignore them. On the other hand, I have pointed out that discussions of "how I personally feel" tend to be self-defeating and do not clear the way for action. Furthermore, the feeling-draining approach gets us into the touchy area of group therapy, which the amateur had best leave to the psychiatrist.
>
> The problem calls for focusing on task problems and emotional problems *together*. This can only be done as people are led to examine their relations with each other and how these relations are promoting or blocking progress. Such a focus on human relations may help people reshape their relations so that they are again able to move ahead on task problems. When that happens, the effectiveness of the group is greatly increased. But that is not an easy result to achieve. (1953, pp. 39-40)

Finding illustrations of group and organizational mechanisms of this blend of emotion and tasks is neither simple nor prevalent.

Sherif's Superordinate Goals

In his classic field study of a group of 11-year-old boys, Sherif (1961) built two groups from initial aggregates in Week I, put the groups into competition, and developed intense social conflict in Week II, and then introduced conflict resolution approaches in Week III. The key concept tested was the potency of superordinate goals.

> Superordinate goals are goals of high appeal value for both groups, which cannot be ignored by the groups in question, but whose attainment is beyond the resources and efforts of any one group alone. (1961, p. 202)

Among the alternative hypotheses they eliminated was "mere intergroup contact situations as equals." The half-dozen episodes included casual activities, movies, and eating together. None reduced the negative relations between the groups. The activities involving superordinate goals included finding the difficulty in the water supply, a tug-of-war against a stalled truck, joint meal preparation, and joint campfire entertainment. The counselor/experimenters exerted considerable ingenuity in creating these alternatives.

The actions implied in these overlapping conceptions of integrative behavior, of superordinate goals, of combining task and feeling are only partially explicit and are difficult to practice, improvise or orchestrate. Their meaning and their practice in varied organizational contexts is even more elusive.[1]

The Difficulty in Developing Integrative Ideas and Mechanisms

Anyone who has tried, as teacher, administrator, or leader, to discover, invent or construct integrative resolutions, emotion/task combinations, or superordinate goals realizes the formidibility of the task. It demands the best of one's intelligence and creativity. It demands the most of one's time, effort and energy. In a sense, in our view, it's part of the continuing and unending business of leadership, management, and administration.

Division of labor in organizations enables specialization to occur, which brings increased skill and performance, and in turn, organizational productivity increases. At least that's the way bureaucratic theory reads. Divisions of labor also implies subgroups. Subgroups can come to argue about all kinds of things. This happened in IAP.

> FR: I think the first time we met in Western State it became a very political kind of meeting, and I think that was the first time I was aware of the tremendous amount of internal politiking that was happening already in IAP, and would probably just go on and on and on forever.
>
> OBS: Can you give me an instance of that that comes to your mind in the Western State meeting?

---

[1] Our own attempts to implement the idea have mostly been in our teaching and administering. Smith did spend a year chairing a "Watchdog Committee" involving hostile factions in a community school integration dispute (Smith et al, 1969). Dwyer's experience in being director/teacher of an alternative school and now Director of an Environmental Center pose concrete instances of the problems in both depth and breadth. The application of the ideas to a difficult natural setting are not totally foreign to us.

> FR: Okay, in the meeting, one of the first things that was discussed was the validity of what we were doing. What right to I have to go and observe this process and what is the data going to be used for? Will it damage the subjects? And if not--my feeling at the time was that it was not so much--it was an ethical problem, but it wasn't discussed from the point of view of say, a professional versus a community, which goes on in social science all the time. But it was a little bit of "I, the field researcher, I'm going to protect my subjects from this study," kind of thing. And immediately, there was a sort of field researcher--other people in IAP division. Sort of like the field researchers erected themselves as the defender of the data--or the defenders of the people. I think that was, in a sense, it was warranted because a lot of the feeling that many of us got from that meeting, that is, the research people, was that a lot of the CA people, the consultative assistance people, were looking at us as a go-fetch operation. Sort of like, "Oh...I wonder if people breath 30 times during the math class. Go find out," kind of thing. And I think a lot of us felt very uncomfortable with that kind of a perspective. Um...the division between CA and research was immediately apparent at that point. (TI/Y5)

During Year Three, IAP had developed an organizational mechanism to deal with some of the same aspects. One of the advisors commented this way:

> I would argue for making the committee, the critical political action and grievance group in IAP. I don't know enough about it to be very specific (and from the discussions in the last day some of this seems underway) but a couple of thoughts come to mind. First, the group should be constituted for clear representation and power from the two main minorities, women and blacks, who are not represented in the management of IAP. Members on the committee should be nominated by the constituent groups of IAP.
>
> Second, as clearly as possible, agreements on the nature and kind of advice and consultation should be reached. For instance, should it be mandatory that anyone who's employment is to be terminated should have his case reviewed by the committee to make sure that he/she has not been discriminated against for reasons of race, sex, creed, etc. Other key issues?
>
> Third, regular meetings at some stated intervals (every three or six months?) with previously circulated agenda should be called by the chairman, who receives and solicits problems, issues, concerns of members of the organization. Explicit ways interacting with the co-directors should be formalized.
>
> Fourth, as I write I'm reminded of the analogy to unions and labor-management quarrels. I don't really know if that applies but it might be an instructive heuristic.
>
> Finally, I guess what I'm arguing for is a place to put these issues and to focus them so they can be solved rather than having the issues eat up the time and energy of IAP and thereby inhibit the awesome amount of work which has been contracted to be accomplished. (PD/Y3)

IAP did invent mechanisms to try to handle the problems of conflict. The mechanisms were cumbersome, involved a number of people, considerable time and as they ran up against the givens of dispersion and growth they gave way under their own weight.

The Timing of Intervention

Most of the general statements on or principles of conflict resolution minimize the importance of the particularistic context--both historically and contemporaneously--of the conflict. One of the leaders talked of his perception of the inception of the project, the complications of intervention and the long term consequences.

> IAP: And we agreed to go in separately, and then when we both made it, there was some implicit stuff from the FEDs, I think it was generally, they said they wanted to encourage any kind of collaborations, we had made stronger competitors....And we thought that'd be great. We thought that, guess the way we conceptualized it, we knew qualitative research, and they knew consultative assistance. That was another thing that we liked about it that here were academics who were trying to analyze what they did but were very interested in doing things in schools. And were actively involved in assistance in the schools. So we felt an affinity. We collaborated and there was some crazy session right around Christmastime and flying back and forth. We all divided up sections of the proposal and they took parts and sent it back. There was a foreshadowed element there. We were unhappy with what they came back with. We felt that it hadn't maintained the spirit of what we had all talked about. And I think nonetheless it went in, the proposal was a terrible proposal. It was really jumbled. And I think we got into the final by our, by both of our institutional histories than by the strength of our written document. Yeah, there was an important qualification statement, part of the proposal.
>
> OBS: Which is a kind of irony in itself in terms of some of the hassle of the written documents. You said they didn't seem to maintain the spirit, can you give me an example of what you mean by that?
>
> IAP: I guess we talked about what would be like some of the theoretical concepts, and I don't really remember what. And when it came back, it had a lot of new stuff in it. That we had never talked about together. See what, I didn't finish that story because I later learned that an important part of their tradition is the notion of having faith in your co-workers. And the notion that when things are, duties are distributed that you, you're also expressing your faith in what your co-workers will do. And that it may not come out exactly like we wanted but you just do it. So you know, they were working firmly, they didn't feel like they had violated any trust or anything. They were just doing what they always do. Maybe they weren't happy with the sections that we did either. But that was to be an issue throughout....Also, I think, conceptual purity was an ideological issue for ARC more so than for them. What our names would go on.
>
> OBS: How do you mean, conceptual purity in what sense?

DOCUMENT RESUME

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ABSTRACT

This report describes the results of the United Parents Association's (UPA) project designed to monitor the effects of the New York City Board of Education's "promotional gates" policy of holding children back in the fourth and seventh grades, based on their scores on the California Achievement Test. The report was prompted by UPA's belief that a parent organization is likely to view such policy differently from the school board. Studied were the holdover history of the children in the classes; how the program was being implemented vis-a-vis class size, teacher training, etc.; parental involvement; attitudinal changes in children; and strengths and weaknesses of the policy. It is reported that the promotional gates program is providing services to children who have been held back and has kept its promises regarding class size, materials, and teacher training. However, it is held that the Board has not done an adequate job of future planning and follow up with students. Appended to the reports are tables of the children's grades, attendance figures for gates students and the entire school, teacher opinions, and sample questionnaires. Also contained in the report is a copy of an article critical of grade equivalent evaluations for Title I programs. (AOS)

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MONITORING PROMOTIONAL POLICIES

A PARENT DOCUMENTATION

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MONITORING PROMOTIONAL POLICIES

A PARENT DOCUMENTATION

MAY 1982

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I. INTRODUCTION

United Parents Associations, a citywide organization which has represented New York City parents for the past 60 years has been conducting a documentation of the Board of Education's promotional gates classes since January 1982.

As a parent organization UPA's position has always been that the system must be responsive to the needs of children at all times and that providing needed services before failure is the best way to operate. UPA has never felt that maintaining standards and holding children over were inextricably tied together. With these positions in mind, UPA found itself in a difficult place last year when the promotional gates were put into effect. UPA says give money for services that all children need at all levels of their education. Society seems to respond only when failure has occurred.

Knowing that the promotional gates were being instituted and a great deal of money would be spent on a program that was rather controversial, UPA was anxious to monitor this program even more carefully than it normally would. With the help of a grant from the Revson Foundation, we have been able to do just that.

UPA often talks about the fact that parents look at things differently than other members of the educational community and that the parent "perspective" is always necessary to round out the picture. It is in this vein that the UPA documentation must be viewed. We have not pretended to do anything but look at this program and ask the questions to which parents want the answers.

Parents at the school level look to be involved in school programs in a number of ways. Seeing themselves as monitors of a newly initiated program is an important aspect of the parent role. This project gave them the opportunity to ask questions in a sequential manner and to be part of a larger whole. Their own findings helped to build the combined parent documentation that is the foundation of this report. The information is significant since it throws new light on an important issue but the process itself has provided new strengths and new connections.

II. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

UPA originally identified five areas to be documented. They were:

1) the holdover history of the children in the classes
2) the specifics of how the program was being implemented vis-a-vis class size, teacher training, etc.
3) parental involvement
4) attitudinal changes
5) strengths and weaknesses

In summary we have found:

1) approximately 67% of fourth grade gates children and 68% of seventh grade gates children had been held over prior to September 1981
2) the Board was true to its promises concerning class size, materials, teacher training; but has no real mechanism for future support and follow-up on gates successes
3) parental involvement has varied from place to place in no discernable pattern

4) there seem to be positive changes occurring but no real conclusions can be reached until long-term pupil success can be measured

5) the biggest discerned strength is the size of the classes; the greatest weaknesses are the lack of planning for the future; the quick-fix mentality which doesn't provide for further support and examination; the use of an unacceptable, arbitrary test cut-off without sufficient place for teacher and principal input or response to the individual needs of children

III. MOTIVATION - PURPOSES OF GRANT - BASIC PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

UPA believes that parents are in a unique position in schools and offer a perspective which makes the education picture fuller. In the case of the Promotional Gates Policy, UPA felt that as a parent organization it would be looking at the program in a different way than those who are either responsible for implementing or evaluating it. When parents think about children it is not in terms of a test score as an indication of where the child is. In the same way UPA would not look only at test results to find out if a program is successful. We were in a position where we had to think on a number of different levels. The documentation was not to be an evaluation of whether the policy is a good one in a philosophical sense. In other words, we are aware that there is conflict over the practice of holding children over; there is certainly no conflict over the need to service children so that they can leave school with the ability to read and think and compute. This documentation did not address the basic question -- it took the policy as it exists (children held over in 4th and 7th grades if they do not meet specific standards) and tried to discover how that policy is working for children and what the people most closely connected to the children think of how it is working. This is not to say that the documentation did not raise the basic issue at times. Obviously, it did. When people begin to talk and to listen to each other, many questions are raised and need to be addressed. Each time that we have come back to policy discussions, we have had to separate out the basic question from the rest. UPA, to some extent has accepted certain "givens" and the documentation/monitoring project proceeded within that framework.

GIVEN: The Board of Education put into effect in 1981-1982 a promotional policy which holds children back in 4th and 7th grades on the basis of their scores on the California Achievement Test (CAT).

FOR UPA TO DETERMINE: What does that mean for children in schools throughout the city? What kind of services are they receiving? How are their needs being met?

IV. DATA THAT HAS BEEN COLLECTED

UPA's initial plan was to visit at least one elementary and one junior high school in each of the 32 school districts. We would visit as many as we could over and above the initial 64. Our target was 100-125 schools. As of May 10th, 166 teachers and principals had taken part in the documentation with others expected to be heard from shortly. UPA expects by the time the documentation process is complete to have monitored schools in 31 out of 32 school districts. Obviously the experience has been different from place to place and some monitors conducted interviews while others had to settle for questionnaires being filled out. In addition approximately 100 parents of children in gates classes have either been interviewed or have answered a questionnaire. We did not choose schools in a "scientific" manner; however, we believe that we have covered a broad enough spectrum of schools and districts to be able to make some generalizations which are likely to reflect what is happening and what is felt throughout the city.

V. THE FINDINGS

A. SOCIAL PROMOTION - WHY THE LIE?

When the promotional gates were first being discussed, the issue of "social promotion" was brought forth to justify the necessity of setting an arbitrary citywide standard for promotion. It was said that New York City schools had been promoting children without regard to academic achievement so that they would not be separated from their peers: hence the phrase "social promotions." In fact, people said, the reason that New York City schools were graduating students without basic skills is that the students were automatically being promoted. When UPA began this documentation process one of the first things we wanted to determine was the truth of these assertions. UPA comes to this issue from a belief that children should not have to be held over to receive needed services, but _if_ that was the only way for them to get the services, then it was better to be held over than to get no services at all. Since it was being said that districts had abdicated responsibilities for setting standards and therefore the Central Board needed to put a holdover policy into effect, UPA was most anxious to determine if in fact the districts had abandoned such standards.

We asked the following question of teachers:
How many children in your class had been held over previously?
We also asked the principals to give us that information for all children in the gates classes on the school fact sheet we supplied.

What we found is that there never was such a thing as "social promotion." Our figures indicate that almost 67% of the youngsters in fourth grade and almost 68% of those in seventh grade who were held over in September 1981 had been held over at least once before. It would seem that schools were holding children over prior to the institution of promotional gates. What the Board has done is to provide services that holdovers never had before; the social promotion argument was used to get funds for services desperately needed by schools for children whose needs were not being met otherwise. Unfortunately a very arbitrary way to decide who would be held over is being used to secure these services. The CAT test, never meant to be used for this purpose and overwhelmingly rejected as a fully reliable source of information about their children's reading abilities by teachers interviewed by UPA is what is in effect. (We asked teachers: Do you believe the CAT test is an accurate reflection of your children's ability to read? The overwhelming "no" answer reflects both ends of the spectrum i.e. the CAT test may be too favorable as well as too unfavorable.)

Clearly it would be more appropriate to once again allow the districts and principals and teachers who know the children best to decide who needs to held over and at the same time make the funds available for the services which everyone agrees seem to be helping children.

B. IMPLEMENTATION BY THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

In the area of implementation UPA was most concerned with determining if the Board of Education was in fact using the money designated to provide the services it said it would to the gates children. The questions we designed to cover this area were:

1. How many children are in each class?
2. What programs are being used?
3. Did the teacher(s) take the training sessions?
4. Were there additional training sessions in the districts during the year?
5. Had materials been received on time?
6. What happened to children who passed in August and in January?

UPA is pleased to report that in most cases the Board has been highly responsible in providing the services it said it would. Class size has been kept down to 20 (or less); except for a few isolated places supplies have been received on time; districts have provided on-going training. The area which seems to have been the most seriously neglected is that of follow-up on children who passed the August test. There have been no real provisions made for supporting these children and that raises questions about what will be done to continue to support children who pass through the gates in June of 1982. The lack of advance planning and keeping track of children who succeed is one of the most frequently raised issues. In fact, it will not be possible to determine if the promotional policy has been successful unless children's future progress and successes are monitored. The long range benefits for children; -- whether the classes have in fact made a change in what is happening to the students -- will not be known without establishing some mechanism for future support and study.

C. ATTITUDINAL CHANGES IN CHILDREN

Obviously the area of attitudinal changes is closely connected to what we have just been discussing. The long range changes -- feeling better about school and oneself -- are not truly measurable in one year. However, UPA was anxious to have some indication of what was happening in this area this year and did so by asking about attendance rates and also asking parents about their children's attitudes. We asked for both the school attendance rate and the gates class attendance rate. We found that in the elementary schools for which we received statistics the gates' children's attendance was almost always higher than the school's attendance rate. Principals and teachers attributed this to the small class size and individual attention the children were getting as well as specific directives which instructed schools to follow-up on gates absenteeism. In the junior highs for which we have statistics the gates attendance rate is somewhat lower than the rest of the school's. What we have no way of knowing is what the children's attendance rates are this year as compared to last year. If a child attended school 40% of the time last year and this year is attending 75% of the time, this is indeed a change in attitude even if 75% is less than the school's average rate of attendance. UPA feels that this too is an area that needs further study and follow-up. If the gates classes have succeeded in helping children in schools, will that carry over into the grades they are in next year and the year after? From the approximately 100 parental responses it appears that the parents we interviewed see positive changes in their children's attitudes. A few parents mentioned no change in children's attitudes and two mentioned an unfavorable relationship with a teacher. This is an area that UPA believes needs more investigation. The crux of whether the program is working is: whether there is long-term success for children and have children's attitudes towards learning and school changed?

D. PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

The initial regulations on promotional policy stated that: "Parent involvement is a critical asset in ensuring the progress of students held-over.....It is most important that solid relationships built on mutual respect and support be developed among parents, teachers and administrators early in the school year..." UPA believes very strongly that parental involvement is a must and also recognizes the difficulties that parents may have in being involved in their children's schooling. This is especially true if parents have only been hearing negatives over the years and have not seen any real progress occur. UPA was anxious to discover if there had been, as part of the gates program, any greater efforts made to involve parents and whether they had been successful. We framed a number of questions to cover this area.

Principals and teachers were asked:

1. What kind of parent orientation took place?
2. How many parents came?
3. How many parents came for parent-teacher conferences?
4. How many personal or phone contacts did teachers have with what proportion of parents?

Parents were asked:

1. Had they had a conference?
2. How had they been kept informed of their children's progress?
3. How had they been involved in the learning process?

The results in this part of the documentation have really run the gamut. In some schools where an orientation took place, many parents came; in others only 2 or 3. In most cases teachers have been more successful in reaching parents individually than schools have in reaching them as a group. Teachers often report that they phone parents if possible. But, even here, the percentage of parents reached varies considerably, from 50%-100%. Our reports show that elementary school teachers have on the whole been more successful than junior high school teachers in having contacts with parents. In the junior high school situations where the least number of parents have been reached the majority of the schools have departmentalized classes as opposed to self-contained ones. This is not a hard and fast rule. There are junior high schools with departmentalization of gates classes where teachers have also been successful in engaging parents.

We have not been able to make any geographic generalizations about parent involvement. It is very much a class to class and school to school difference.

Where schools held orientation meetings or workshops for gates parents the success rate was not divisible into elementary vs. junior high school. The schools that were able to get large percentages of gates parents to such meetings were few and had no common characteristics that we could identify.

The parents who responded to our questions were more often parents of elementary school children. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of those interviewed were people who had been involved in a positive way in the school. Most had had more than just one parent-teacher conference and most felt that this year's experience was a positive one for their children.

UPA feels that we have not spoken to enough parents to make any real generalizations in this area. Our time limits were such that we could not do the sort of job we would have liked to in terms of contacting individual parents.

E. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE PROGRAM

This is the area in which UPA particularly urged the monitors to encourage discussion and feedback. The specific questions were in terms of what the advantages and disadvantages for children were in the program. Also, suggestions for next year and what things might be needed to improve the program were elicited. In the following part of the report we will report what each group of interviewees had to say in each area because some of the comments are related to their particular vantage point. It is clear that everyone identified the single most important success factor as being small class size permitting more attention to be given to each individual child. This comes as no great surprise to anyone. The maximum of 20 per class was considered O.K., but many teachers felt the ideal would be a maximum of 15. The other striking thing about this part of the documentation was the fact that the exemplary programs were rarely mentioned at all. There were occasional praises as well as some very strong negative feelings about the uncreative rigidity of one of the programs. However, principals and teachers did not feel that the exemplary program was the key to success in the class. Choice of teacher and the teacher's dedication plus the class size seemed to be the real factors. As far as teachers were concerned, we found that in most cases the person had volunteered for the position and when informally asked (this was not part of the questionnaire) many would teach the class again next year. The concept and practice of training for teachers, especially on-going training in the districts which offered oppportunities to share actual classroom experiences, also seemed to be a strength of the program. The use of the CAT test and the thought that children might be held over again even if they had made significant gains during the year seemed to be the most glaring deficiencies of the policy for principals and teachers. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS seemed most concerned with the stigma attached to gates children, the fact that services have to come after failure and the fact that children will have to be held over again with no real plan for them. They suggested the addition of guidance help and family workers to improve the program. They also identified the small class size and the availability of materials as significant. The fact that teachers are good and are having an opportunity to be trained is another positive factor in the gates program.

At the JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL level PRINCIPALS expressed great concern about the fact that they and the teachers were allowed no input on who to hold over. This results in no recognition of children's efforts and the holding over of children even when they passed their subject areas. The problem of children being held over again and the lack of specific plans for next year are also of concern. Again, of course, small class size stands out as the biggest plus factor. In junior highs where the class is self-contained a number of principals have seen that as a plus for the children. The principals interviewed would very much like to regain some control over who is held back. They would also like to see the addition of guidance services to the program.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS also see small class size as the primary positive factor; they mention the amount of materials they have this year as being more than ever before (except for the few who had not yet received all of theirs) and this was very good. They are concerned about the numbers of children who are in their classes who should have been physically or psychologically screened. These children they feel are not "true" holdovers and need to be serviced differently than the children they believe they are able to reach. At the JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL level TEACHERS frequently mentioned the labeling and social stigmatization as well as the constant sense of failure as the major disadvantages for gates children. There was also great concern about the age of the children in the classes and the possibility that children would be held over again. In addition teachers were distressed about lumping reading and math together since not all children needed both; the fact that children were missing out on other subject areas was also mentioned as a problem. Interestingly the issue of self contained classes brought forth a full spectrum of opinion from teachers who thought it a great advantage, to others who viewed it as a disaster. There was absolutely no consensus on this issue.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

This section of the report will deal with both our conclusions and the questions that we believe must be addressed before the Board plunges ahead with an expanded and extended program.

1) the school system, over the years, has been identifying and holding over children who are in need of extra services without providing the needed services for them.

2) the promotional gates program has begun to bridge the gap and is providing some services that had not been previously available. The Board has kept its promises as far as class size, materials and teacher training are concerned.

3) the Board has not done an adequate job in terms of future planning and follow-up with students who both remain and those who pass through the promotional gates. In order to truly judge the success of the program and to adequately provide for children, more specific plans must be in place. Following are a few of the many questions that must be answered:
   a) what will the Board do to insure the continued success of children who pass through the gates?
   b) what positive rewards will the children who have worked and grown all year, but not enough to reach the CAT cut-off, receive?
   c) how will unsuccessful gates children be serviced next year?
   d) what will be done to follow the progress of gates students so that the long-term effects of the program can be measured?
   e) with growing research indicating the CAT test is an inappropriate tool for grade placement of children, will the Board restore the power to decide who does not fit into the

box prescribed by the CAT cut-off to the teachers and principals who know the children best?

Our last and most important conclusion has to do with children and what they are entitled to. All children can learn. UPA has believed this for 61 years and now the Chancellor and the Board of Education have stated that they are committed to making it happen. In our documentation we have touched base with all segments of the school community---parents, teachers, principals and administrators. There is a unanimity of opinion that children learn at different rates and in different ways and that children must be nurtured from the very beginning of their school experience to build self esteem and success. Smaller classes at grades 1, 2, and 3 are as basic as A, B, and C. It is fundamental and the bedrock on which positive learning grows. While we have seen that the Promotional Gates classes have offered individual students a good experience, we believe that children are entitled to more from New York City than a policy that fails them first and helps them second. We submit that a society that prides itself on putting a man on the moon ought to be able to find a way to provide the necessary supports for prevention rather than retention.

VII. THE PROCESS: WHY and HOW

A. METHODOLOGY - HOW WE DID IT (AND WHY WE DID IT THAT WAY)

There are many aspects to how we did (are doing) this documentation/monitoring project. Again there is a basic question that we had to answer before we began. That was: would it be better to have parents act as monitors in their own schools or would it be better to enter as strangers to do the interviewing? There were arguments made on both sides of the issue. Those in favor of "strangers" felt that principals, teachers and parents would feel less "uptight" if the person doing the interviewing was from outside. However, those in favor of parents monitoring their own schools felt that there is real value to people finding out about things which directly affect them and that the opportunity for parents, administrators and teachers to share this experience was too good to pass up. In the end, we decided to go both ways. In places where we were able to get parents and train them, we'd use them in their own schools; in places where we were unsuccessful in making parent contacts we would use UPA staff who had also been trained.

1 - HOW TRAINEES AND/OR SCHOOLS WERE CHOSEN

In the January UPA Newsletter parents were asked to call or write to UPA if they were interested in being monitors. In addition, names were solicited at the Delegate Assembly. A letter announcing the project and an appeal for monitors was also sent out in January. All UPA staff members and executive council members were asked to use professional and personal contacts to elicit more interest. UPA staff spoke at district meetings as well as individual PA meetings. There was no UPA affiliation required to be a monitor. All potential monitors were called by the project director. The commitment was explained to them: one day of training was a must; no untrained monitors would be used. (Eventually when we had trained all potential monitors, we used other contacts to be able to visit schools in districts where we had no trained parents.)

2 - DEVELOPMENT OF DOCUMENTATION INSTRUMENT

Many meetings took place in order to put together the "instrument" that would be used in the documentation process. UPA's Executive Council and staff were involved in developing questions that we felt needed to be answered and focused in areas important to UPA. It was decided that three kinds of interviews would be necessary in order to cover the areas we were concerned about. There were questions developed for the principal (as well as a school fact sheet for the principal to have filled out), questions for the gates teacher and questions for parents of children in the gates classes. The questions covered a number of different areas:

1) the specifics of how the program was being implemented vis-a-vis class size, teacher training, etc.
2) the hold-over history of the children who are in the classes
3) the kind of parent involvement that was taking place
4) the strengths and weaknesses of the program
5) the attitudinal changes that might be taking place

3 - ENTERING THE SYSTEM

The process of instrument development took place at the same time that we were making whatever arrangements would be necessary to "enter" the system and ask our questions. From the very beginning it was clear that UPA would have no difficulty in many places having PA people go in as monitors and gather information.

However, we were very anxious to have the sanction of the Board of Education, the Community School Boards, the District Superintendents, the CSA and the UFT in order to make this as complete and as comfortable a procedure as possible. Meetings were held with representatives of the above organizations to explain the project and to reassure everyone that parents would not be going into schools to rate or evaluate teachers or principals. The purpose of this project was to document a centrally mandated program from a parent perspective. After a few detours, UPA was successful, in most cases, in providing the assurances needed to proceed. The instruments were presented to all who wished to see them for suggestions and criticism. District Superintendents, principals and teachers were consulted all through the process on a formal and informal basis in order to get as wide a sense of involvement and co-operation as possible.

B - TRAINING

UPA decided that the best place to train parents would be in schools located throughout the city. Arrangements were made initially for six training sessions at six different sites in four boroughs beginning in mid-February. All prospective monitors were sent letters inviting them to attend a training session. After the first group of sessions it was determined that more were needed and subsequently eight more sessions were held in all five boroughs, ultimately training 80 parents and 10 UPA staff members.

A training package was developed which included all the questionnaires plus material which instructed the monitor on how to proceed and repeated in written form what would take place at the training sessions.

The focus of the training was on the importance of using the opportunity to enhance communication; to be co-operative and non-threatening; to view oneself as a "professional" parent; to understand the background of promotional policy; to understand the non-evaluative nature of the project; to be able to separate other parent association school issues from the documentation process. Every trainee who wished to participate was given a training packet and one school assignment. They were asked to report back to the project director after covering one school to see if they wanted to attempt another visit. In addition to discussions and presentations, the trainees were involved in critiquing a demonstration parent-principal interview so that the role that UPA wanted them to assume became quite clear.

We indicated that the hardest part of the documentation we felt would be getting in touch with parents of children in the gates classes. UPA has a strong sense of the right of privacy and in no way wished to invade anyone's. Parenthetically, we emphasized to all trainees that the entire process was a voluntary one. No principal, teacher or parent had to talk to them. Prior to the training sessions UPA had sent letters to all district superintendents and principals of elementary, intermediate and junior high schools explaining our project, insuring anonymity and asking for co-operation.

In terms of reaching parents, we had developed a method that we hoped would work. We supplied each monitor with material to be distributed to each child (in an envelope) if the teacher agreed. Each gates parent would receive a copy of our "purpose" along with a letter asking him/her to return a tear-off with a phone number where he could be reached either days or evenings so that the monitor could call and question him. If the parent was reluctant to divulge a phone number, we provided him with the UPA number and the name of the project director to call and be questioned or be sent a questionnaire.

Our main concernsat the training sessions were to make our purposes clear to the monitors; to stress the non-evaluative nature of the documentation and to underscore the importance of the role they would play. We urged them to be persistent about interviewing people, but indicated that we would settle for the questionnaires being filled out by the principal, teacher or parent if an interview proved impossible. We also provided anonymous comment sheets and envelopes addressed to UPA to be left with teachers and principals in case anyone had additional things to share with us.

C - EXPERIENCE OF MONITORS

When UPA first undertook this documentation/monitoring project we had included a class visit as one of the parts of the monitor's job. When it became clear that there was a great deal of fear and reluctance on the part of the "system" to accept parents in this new role, UPA abandoned the class visit in the interest of assuring administrators and teachers that parents were not about to go into classrooms and evaluate teachers. During the training sessions we discussed this issue and indicated to our monitors that though they weren't to ask to visit a classroom, if invited they should go. Many of them were invited and did go and felt very positive as a result of the experience. On the other hand, some of our monitors never got to actually do the interviews; they were asked to leave the questionnaires to be filled out. The experiences are as varied as the neighborhoods of the city. When parents went to their own schools they were more likely to be successful -- although not always. When UPA staff visited schools "officially", arranged by Distict Superintendents, the welcome was positive and co-operation was exceptional. In a number of cases where parents were attempting to visit schools which were not their own they needed to be extremely persistent and sometimes had to use a lot of ingenuity to get in. Once "in" however most monitors found themselves engaged in useful conversations with people who genuinely care about their schools and students. Our monitors reported talking to people who philosophically were 100% against this program as well as those who were 100% for it. We tried to be careful about framing our questions around that issue and concentrating on the "given". Obviously there were both the administrators and teachers who said when asked about suggestions for next year "end it" or those who said "expand it to all grades".

A

TABLE I

PREVIOUS HOLDOVER HISTORY OF GATES CHILDREN BY GRADE

FOURTH GRADE

previously held over	number in class
16	16
10	16
6	17
0	13
3	20
10	15
10	14
14	14
5	14
15	15
8	13
4	9
3	13
7	11
8	14
7	15
15	15
17	17
1	11
13	17
17	17
6	7
11	16
10	19
2	19
12	12
15	15
3	10
15	19
5	19
15	18
10	14
12	18
15	15
13	14
15	16
14	14
10	12
7	20
15	17
10	15
4	12
10	12
7	15
11	15
10	14
5	12
14	20

total 473 715
percentage 67%

SEVENTH GRADE

previously held over	number in class
13	15
15	15
15	15
8	14
7	13
13	13
13	13
14	14
2	15
19	20
16	16
12	12
18	18
5	18
17	20
18	20
3	9
8	8
10	10
8	13
9	13
2	16
3	15
8	12
9	17
15	15
20	20
20	20
16	18
10	17
9	18
1	17
5	16
7	14
6	12
16	16
14	15
10	15
9	13
5	20
8	20
9	20
18	18
6	17

total 469 685
percentage 68%

B

TABLE II

COMPARATIVE ATTENDANCE FIGURES FOR GATES VS. ENTIRE SCHOOL

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

gates attendance	school attendance
93%	91%
93%	91%
90%	87%
95%	90%
90%	90%
98%	92%
90%	85%
90%	90%
90%	87%
90%	90%
90%	94%
89%	90%
85%	90%
90%	85%
93%	91%
85%	90%
95%	90%
88%	85%
88%	87%
90%	90%
98%	95%
93%	87%
91%	90%
89%	95%

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

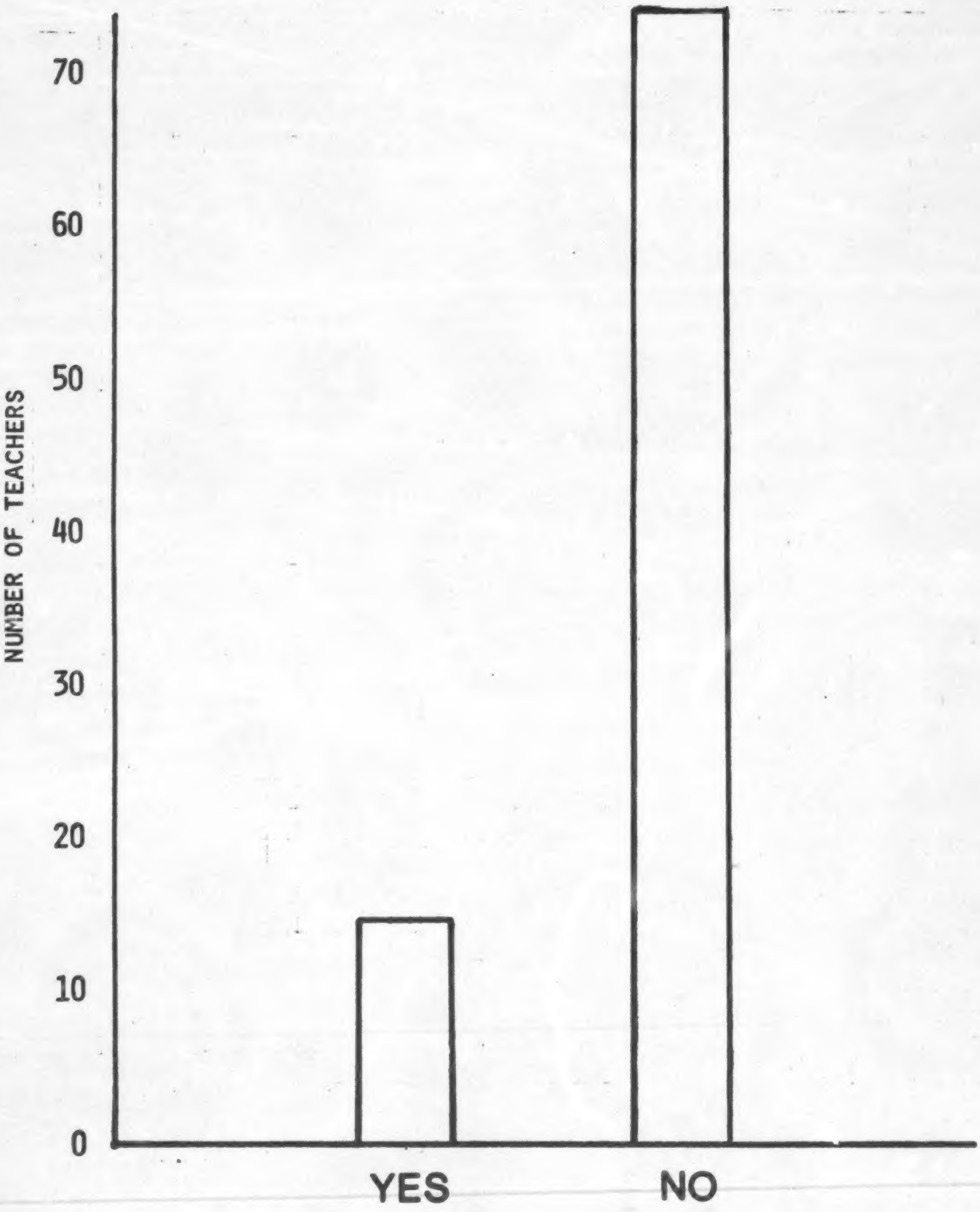
gates attendance	school attendance
84%	88%
76%	81%
71%	81%
90%	90%
75%	86%
58%	87%
83%	84%
75%	85%
85%	90%
73%	85%
78%	86%
77%	89%
80%	82%
80%	87%
88%	89%
76%	85%
77%	84%
85%	85%

UPA did not receive attendance figures for all schools involved in the documentation.

TABLE III

TEACHER RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION:

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE CAT TEST IS AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF YOUR STUDENTS' ABILITY TO READ?



D

QUESTIONS FOR PRINCIPALS - ELEMENTARY

1) HOW MANY GATES CLASSES ARE THERE IN YOUR SCHOOL?_______________

2) HOW MANY CHILDREN ARE THERE IN EACH CLASS?_____________________

3) ARE ALL OF THE CHILDREN IN THE GATES CLASS THERE BY VIRTUE OF THE 1981 CAT TEST?____

(IF NO) HOW WAS THE DECISION MADE TO PUT OTHER CHILDREN IN THE CLASS?____

____

4) WHAT KIND OF SUPPORT SERVICES WERE PROVIDED BY YOUR DISTRICT FOR STUDENTS WHO PASSED THROUGH THE GATES IN AUGUST? (I.E. PSEN, TITLE PROGRAMS, SPECIAL HELP, ETC.)_____________________

____

5) HOW MANY CHILDREN PASSED THE JANUARY TEST?______________________

6) WHERE HAVE THEY BEEN PLACED?_____________________________________

____

7) IF THE CHILDREN WERE PLACED AHEAD ARE THERE ADDITIONAL SERVICES BEING OFFERED?____

____

8) WHAT KIND OF AN ORIENTATION FOR GATES PARENTS WAS GIVEN IN SEPTEMBER?____

____

9) HOW MANY PARENTS CAME?____

10) WHAT VALIDATED PROGRAMS ARE BEING USED? (EXEMPLARY READING AND MATH PROGRAMS)____

____

11) DID YOU HAVE A VOICE IN THE SELECTION OF THE PROGRAM?

____

12) HAS THIS PROGRAM BEEN USED IN YOUR SCHOOL BEFORE?________________

____

13) HOW WERE THE GATES TEACHERS SELECTED?______________________

____

____

14) DID THE TEACHERS TAKE THE SUMMER TRAINING SESSIONS?__________

____

15) ARE THE SAME TEACHERS WHO BEGAN IN SEPTEMBER STILL WITH THE CLASS?

____

16) WHAT AUXILIARY SERVICES HAVE BEEN MADE AVAILABLE FOR THE GATES CHILDREN?____

____

____

17) HAVING HAD THE EXPERIENCE OF THIS PROGRAM FOR 6-7 MONTHS, WHAT SERVICES DO YOU THINK NEED TO BE IN PLACE TO IMPROVE THE PROGRAM?

____

____

____

18) WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF THE PROGRAM?____________________

____

____

____

19) WHAT ARE THE DISADVANTAGES OF THE PROGRAM?_________________

____

____

____

20) IF YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS PLEASE SEND IN THE ANONYMOUS COMMENT SHEET.

UNITED PARENTS ASSOCIATIONS   95 Madison Ave., NY 10016   685-3563

SCHOOL FACT SHEET

1) HOW MANY CHILDREN IN GATES CLASSES HAVE BEEN HELD BACK BEFORE THIS YEAR?________________________________

2) HOW MANY CHILDREN IN GATES CLASSES WERE 3 YEARS OR MORE BELOW GRADE LEVEL?________________________________

3) WHAT IS THE ATTENDANCE RATE IN THE GATES CLASSES?

____

4) WHAT IS THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RATE?

____

5) GOING BACK TO THE SUMMER PROGRAMS HOW MANY STUDENTS PASSED THE SUMMER GATES TEST?________________________________

6) HOW MANY GATES PARENTS CAME FOR PARENT-TEACHER CONFERENCES?

____

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS - JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

1) HOW MANY CHILDREN ARE IN YOUR CLASS?________________

2) DO YOU CONSIDER THIS TO BE A GOOD SIZE FOR A CLASS OF THIS NATURE?

____

____

3) DID YOU VOLUNTEER FOR THIS PROGRAM?________________________________

____

4) HAVE YOU HAD THIS CLASS SINCE SEPTEMBER?___________________________

5) DID YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE SUMMER TRAINING SESSIONS? HOW WERE THEY HELPFUL?____

____

____

____

6) WERE YOU GIVEN HELP IN OTHER THAN ACADEMIC AREAS IN HOW TO WORK POSITIVELY WITH CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN LABELED HOLDOVERS?

____

____

7) HAVE YOU FOUND THE ONGOING TRAINING IN YOUR DISTRICT TO BE HELPFUL?

____

____

8) HOW MANY PERSONAL OR PHONE CONTACTS HAVE YOU HAD WITH PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN YOUR CLASS? WHAT PROPORTION OF THE PARENTS HAVE YOU NOT BEEN ABLE TO REACH?____

____

____

9) WHAT KIND OF COMMUNICATION HAS TAKEN PLACE WITH PARENTS SINCE THE JANUARY 12TH TEST?____

____

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS - JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

10) WHAT VALIDATED PROGRAM ARE YOU USING?________________________________

____

11) WOULD IT HAVE BEEN HELPFUL IF YOU HAD BEEN ABLE TO CHOOSE THE VALIDATED PROGRAM?________________________________

____

12) HAVE YOU HAD PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH THE PROGRAM YOU ARE USING?

____

____

13) HOW LONG DID IT TAKE FOR YOU TO RECEIVE THE APPROPRIATE MATERIALS NEEDED FOR YOUR PROGRAM?________________________________

____

14) ARE THE READING AND MATH PROGRAMS FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO MEET STUDENT'S INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES?________________________________

____

____

15) DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE CAT TEST IS AN ACCURATE REFLECTION OF YOUR STUDENTS' ABILITY TO READ?________________________________

____

16) HOW MANY CHILDREN IN YOUR CLASS ARE READING 3 YEARS BELOW GRADE LEVEL?________________________________

17) HOW MANY CHILDREN HAVE BEEN HELD OVER PREVIOUSLY?________________

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS - JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

18) HAS THIS PROGRAM SERVED THE NEEDS OF THE CHILDREN WHO ARE 3 YEARS OR MORE BELOW GRADE LEVEL?______________________________

____

____

HAS IT SERVED THE NEEDS OF THOSE CHILDREN WHO ARE LESS THAN 3 YEARS BELOW?______________________________

____

____

19) FOR A CHILD WHO WILL BE PROMOTED WHAT WOULD YOU RECOMMEND TO MAINTAIN THE GAINS HE/SHE HAS MADE?______________________________

____

____

____

20) WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE ADVANTAGES FOR GATE CHILDREN?______________________________

____

____

____

21) WHAT DO YOU SEE AS DISADVANTAGES?______________________________

____

____

____

22) DO YOU HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS FOR NEXT YEAR?______________________________

____

____

____

23) IF YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS, PLEASE SEND IN THE ANONYMOUS SHEET.

United Parents Associations
of New York City, Inc.

95 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10016
(212) 685 3563

February 1982

Parent to Parent Memo:

The following questions for parents are an important part of our monitoring effort. We hope you will answer the questions and use the enclosed envelope to return them to United Parents Associations. We believe that your perspective on this program can be a very valuable addition to our understanding of the Promotional Gates. Thank you very much.

MERYL SCHWARTZ, President, United Parents Associations

QUESTIONS FOR PARENTS

1) WERE YOU NOTIFIED IN JANUARY 1981 THAT YOUR CHILD MIGHT BE HELD OVER?

____

2) WHEN AND HOW WERE YOU NOTIFIED THAT YOUR CHILD WOULD BE HELD OVER?

____

____

3) HOW HAVE YOU BEEN KEPT INFORMED OF YOUR CHILD'S PROGRESS?__________

____

____

4) HOW HAS THE SCHOOL INVOLVED YOU IN THE LEARNING PROCESS?__________

____

5) HAVE YOU HAD A CONFERENCE WITH YOUR CHILD'S TEACHER? IF NOT, WHY?

____

____

6) WHAT DIFFERENCES DO YOU NOTICE BETWEEN YOUR CHILD'S EXPERIENCES THIS YEAR AND LAST YEAR?______________________________

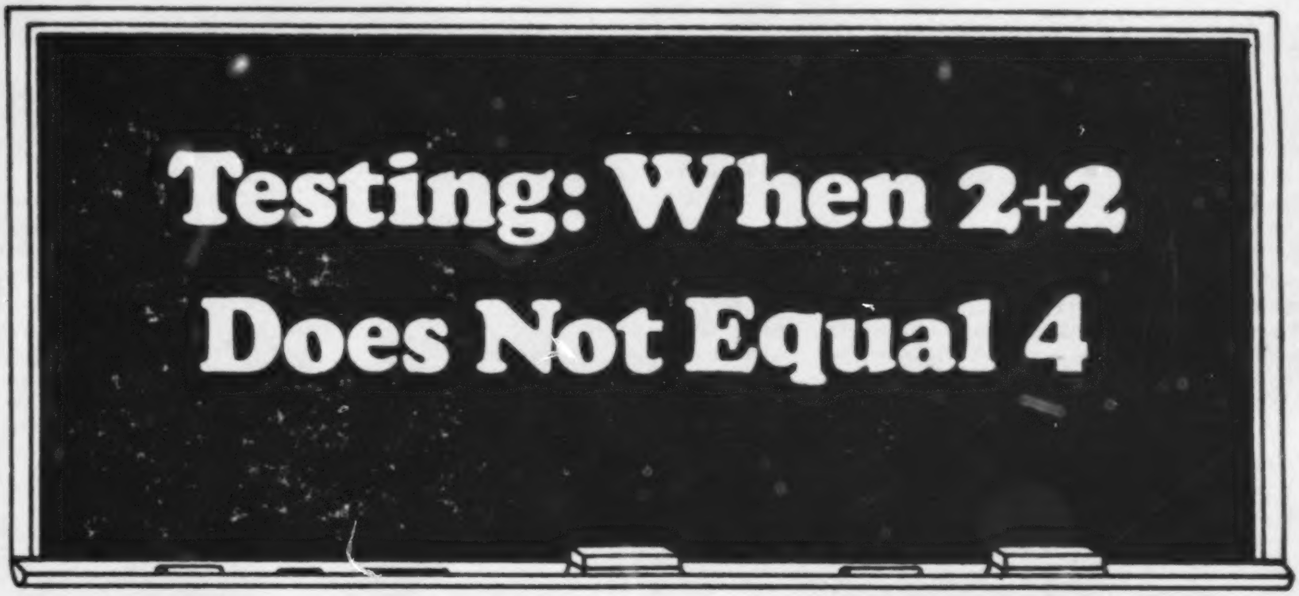
____

____

7) IS YOUR CHILD'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL ANY DIFFERENT THIS YEAR? HOW?

____

8) HAS YOUR CHILD BEEN HELD OVER BEFORE?______________________________



Testing: When 2+2 Does Not Equal 4

by Thomas B. Williams

For years, many teachers have added, subtracted and averaged standardized test scores. An expert explains why this practice can lead to false conclusions.

For years, teachers and administrators doggedly have continued the practice of adding, subtracting and averaging grade equivalent scores taken from standardized tests, despite warnings from researchers and test makers that such calculations could lead to inaccurate conclusions about students and programs.

Here, for example, is a warning published in 1973 by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich:

"Grade equivalents are frequently misinterpreted or overinterpreted. They are not comparable (1) from test to test, or (2) at various positions along the scale (from grade to grade.) A year of growth...will represent much more learning at grade 4 than at grade 8."

And here's another warning published in 1965 by (Columbia) Teachers College Press:

"Units of the grade scale are not equal to one another... For this reason, grade scores should not be added to obtain averages or subtracted to measure gains..."

One test publisher felt so strongly about the misuse of grade equivalents that when it published a new test in the late 1970's it refused to publish a grade equivalent scale. Unfortunately, the publisher then suffered the consequences as school districts refused to buy the test.

Only after the U. S. Office of Education rejected grade equivalents as a means of evaluating Title I (now Chapter I) programs at the state and national levels did many local teachers and administrators ask why.

A brief look at grade equivalents, using percentile measurements for comparison, provides a convincing answer.

Assuming that publishers used valid national samples to produce the percentile tables accompanying their tests, the definition of a percentile on one test is the same as it is on any other. For example, regardless of the test being used, a percentile of 25 represents the raw score at or below which one fourth of the norming population scored. This does not mean a person scoring at a certain percentile on one test will score at the same percentile on another. The two tests may measure different things. What it does mean, however, is that we can use the percentiles to compare grade equivalents from test to test.

One such comparison, conducted for Title I Technical Assistance Centers, showed significant variations in the grade equivalents obtained from 12 widely used standardized tests. While scores in the middle range—at the 50th percentile—looked pretty much the same, the differences among the tests increased dramatically in the upper and lower percentiles, with the most notable differences occurring at the 99th, or highest, percentile.

Not only did grade equivalent values vary from test to test, they also varied from grade to grade. For example, on Test A the grade equivalent at the 50th percentile in the fall of the second grade was 2.2. For Test B it was 2.1. One year later the grade equivalents at the 50th percentile were 3.1 for Test A and 3.5 for Test E. Thus on Test A a score at the 50th percentile represented a growth of nine months (or one school year) between the two testing dates. On Test E, however, a score at the 50th percentile represented a growth of one year and four months between testing dates.

A common practice under Title I programs has been to set arbitrary grade equivalent criteria, such as one year below grade level, to help define "disadvantaged" students. As the study of the 12 tests shows, however, grade equivalents are not consistent from test to test or from grade to grade. Some attempts have been made to compensate for the grade to grade variations by establishing different criteria at different grade levels (for example, three months below grade level at second grade.) Yet these attempts do not take test-to-test differences into account. A student scoring three months below grade level on one test might score three months above grade level on another test measuring the same traits.

Title I schools (as targeted by economic criteria) also use standardized tests to conduct needs assessments. These assessments attempt to determine what grade levels in a school have the greatest need in which basic skill area. If a school uses grade equivalents to conduct a needs assessment, variations from grade to grade and test to test may prevent accurate judgments. For example, a score of 1.5 years below grade level in reading on a given test may represent a higher percentile than one year below grade level does on a given math test.

Overwhelmingly, the evidence suggests that use of grade equivalents for Title I program evaluations is ludicrous. Assuming that equal gains, measured as grade equivalents, on different tests or in different grades are the same is like assuming that one U.S. gallon equals one imperial gallon.

Beyond the implications for Federal programs, the same evidence suggests that teachers and administrators should avoid using grade equivalents altogether in making any comparisons of their students.■

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Testing: When 2+2 Doesn't Equal 4 *Page 24*

For years teachers and administrators have added, subtracted and averaged scores on standardized tests. An expert explains why this practice can lead to false conclusions about students and programs.

The University of the State of New York

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Photos: Pages 18 and 19 courtesy Andover Central School.

> IAP: I guess the linking of ideology and theoretical statements.... We wouldn't want our names on anything that was dealing with some theories that we weren't convinced were in the best interests of the people with whom we were working. It wasn't terrible stuff that they put in, it was just, and you get into the sins of emphasis and omission and the sins of commission. By putting that stuff with such a heavy emphasis, we might buy some of that stuff, but not as out front as the biggest conceptual underpinings of the project. But it, at that point, there was no big deal, we were still in kind of a honeymoon about the collaboration. We were just really pleased that we had both made the finals and pleased that we all were working and kind of we were looking forward to learning a lot from them and I suspect they were looking forward to learning a lot from us. (TI/Y5)

In part we are back to Group Think, to the problems in building, combining and enlarging organizations, and, critically here, to the historical complexities involved in conflict resolution. Knowing when and how to intervene is a difficult problem in knowing where you are, what's going on, where you want to be and what the costs and benefits are. All of which is to say that managerial skill is a rare and valuable talent.

The Difficulty in Stabilizing the Solutions

As we have indicated, for some of the problems IAP did construct inventive solutions. Often they involved heavy time commitments of a number of individuals because of their participatory nature. Here, too, the geographical distance problem, in spite of conference calls, played a role. The consequence was a fading of the organizational mechanism, further confusion regarding its status, and the playing out of original conflicts in different forms.

There are all kinds of cliches on the difficulty of working with and on material things--whether one is blacksmithing, fashioning jewelry or weaving cloth. Working with living things--lawns, flowers and vegetable gardens have additional problems. Everyone knows that working with people is "an aggravation" to quote a business manager friend and that it goes well beyond other living things. The zenith in this progression is grappling with ideology--that visionary, partially codified set of beliefs, attitudes and values. If one hasn't been in an "ideological organization" like IAP or Kensington, one can't appreciate the elusiveness, the potency, the multiple representations and forms, the impossibility of "capping it" and of dealing with it rationally. Comments by one member of IAP indicate once more some of those issues in the context of race.

> Black-white issues are very central to IAP as an organization both internally and externally. Unresolved conflicts about the value of the "cultural continuity" work, whether "academic competence" is important, whether "group process" will be bound to fail in urban schools because it does not deal with race issues are present. Charges of racism by blacks, guilt about racism by whites, and unclarity about how to function productively in IAP's complex set of tasks while dealing with race issues are always there in the background. (PD/Y4)

Attempts at Positive Affect

Scattered through the data are records and comments of attempts to build positive affect among members of disparate parts of IAP. A summary comment by one actor drew together several items from the narrative and analyses,

> These included the attempted, informal events and parties which generally ended with tension and increased social distance between various people, e.g., the humorous presentations at the February Conference, the belly dancer at Western City, the group cook, etc. There was no humor in IAP. (RD, Y6)

The Complications of Style: a Concluding Vignette

Styles, the way individuals, superordinate as well as subordinant characteristically behave, or possibly the perception of styles, or more likely both, complicate the problems of conflict resolution. An interview stumbled into the point and the conversation developed a number of related issues, all of which flow through the general problem of conflict resolution.

> IAP: You get into styles too.
>
> OBS: Talk a little bit about that for a minute.
>
> IAP: Juan. Did you ever meet Juan?
>
> OBS: No.
>
> IAP? He was a guy who'd been in ARC for a couple of years working on other projects, active in a Hispanic community in Midwest City...
>
> OBS: Yeah, which blew my mind. But anyway, styles you were talking about.
>
> IAP: Yeah, Juan hung out a lot. I don't know how else to say it. Not hung up about the time thing. It sounds so stereotype-stuff, but that's really the way he behaved. And I think he was good in working with people. He wasn't very good in conceptualizing stuff, or at least in indicating what he conceptualized. But he had a major link point in the IAP project and this is with the Hispanic community, and didn't get called on until, he did get called on... Generally that was a kind of a problem. I'm saying that with the minority people and with respect for different styles you get yourself into double binds cause any time you begin to ask traditional criteria, questions in traditional criteria, you've got to ask are you just running your number...
>
> OBS: Come back with a little more particulars, again I don't know about him. What was he doing in IAP and when did he get fired and what were the circumstances and outcomes?
>
> IAP: You could trace the people that got fired, or resigned, that would be an interesting way to analyze....You'd have to do resignations too. All right, it's so hard to remember the early part. He was working on the consultative assistance, task three, in Midwest City. His supervisor was from Western City, one of his supervisors, his IAP supervisor. Then, of course, somebody here was....He was supposed to get together plans or something. The timing eludes me.

OBS: Because at the February Conference there was some talk about somebody who had been fired. Could it have been Juan? And one of the issues that was partly undercurrent there was who makes decisions, what kind of appeal and so forth.

IAP: Yeah, it may have been Juan. Strange it would have taken that long. Maybe it was November. There was a conference in Western City, I think. Certainly it would be part of that, even if it had happened a while ago. Now, it gets back to a collaboration issue. One of the ARC people was putting some kind of pressure on, somebody in GPC wasn't doing their work. Or at least the person, it may have been him. Maybe I was feeling that he wasn't doing what I was counting on him to do. Doesn't seem quite right. So there was some pressure going that way and the response, "Hey, take a look at your own house. Juan isn't doing what he's supposed to be doing."

OBS: So you were talking about styles and the collaboration tit-for-tat between the two organizations, all of which kind of grew out of the affirmative action point. You mentioned double binds, can you illustrate precisely what you mean by that? With the style business around Juan.

IAP: I think what I mean is he, part of what gave him credibility with the folks he was working with, part of what we kept on saying was the importance of getting minority people in because we wanted people who thought the ways the people being worked with thought. He did represent that, he had those same qualities. And he didn't get some of the other work done. He wasn't comfortable in that world of doing stuff that we had to do.

OBS: Did anybody ever take that problem on analytically? You've told me now about the specific situation and think their way through that in some way of resolution in terms of...

IAP: There was some stuff that was this notion maybe someone would help Juan with his writing. He doesn't write well in English. I mean, I think some analysis was done of this issue and some attempt to modify expectations. We did that with one of the field researchers. We got her a research assistant. That would be a, I mean, we did that a lot, mostly around issues of writing. Somehow I didn't ever think it quite worked correctly. Didn't find a way to like preserve the perspectives of the minority people and have someone, I guess it's like getting someone to help them bridge to the other world. But we didn't, so yes, some of that analysis was done, but we never really took hold of it...I think, and again it plays into the nature of this conflict because we believed we weren't going to be judged by traditional criteria, it wasn't that crucial to do that. A black talking about what he had seen with a black practitioner audience would have some kinds of credibility and power that would compensate for his not being able to write the paper that would please the research people. I guess that was kind of a tradeoff.

OBS: Talk a little bit more about what were your perceptions about how the FEDs were going to evaluate that. I can see the tradeoff and the possibility. Did they have any more concrete expectations or did you have any more concrete expectations or was it sort of a given that that was the way it was?

> IAP: I guess the usual criteria we thought would be success in schools, and we thought success in schools would come from that credibility, that rapport. And then when it came time to judge it, I guess we assumed there would be plenty of papers and plenty of action in the schools, and that in balance there was enough of both those skills around, that the totality of the project's output would be impressive, and speak to all of those. (TI/YS)

The tangle of item upon item in the concrete situation clearly indicates the difficulties of conflict management and resolution in IAP. If we have a moralistic point to be made, it's that we believe these kinds of issues are part and parcel of the issues in urban education, that IAP was a microcosm of the issues and that IAP did not make them problematic as part of its agenda.

4. ELEMENTS IN A THEORY OF ORGANIZATIONAL MANAGEMENT

In our view of organizations the key task of the manager, the leader, the administrator is coordination, the bringing of the elements into common action or into harmonious adjustment or functioning, as Webster defines coordination. The simplicity of the definition belies the complexity of both the implicit theory and the practical realities of an organization such as the Inquiry and Assistance Project. The elements to be brought into harmony are numerous and change in importance, that is, they become more or less problematic at different time in the life of the organization. One way of summarizing much of our thought about IAP is to provide a clustering of the key sensitizing concepts, analytic elements necessary in seeing the complexity of IAP as an organization.

Introduction:
Summary Items in the Field Notes

During an interviewing trip in the summer of Year V, the observer reread the original Request for Proposal in preparation for the interviews. His summary notes on the RFP captured the midstream but developing perceptions of this part of the project.

> Observations on rereading the RFP and running it against my experience, observations in sites, and interviewee talk.
>
> 1) Very sophisticated complex plan--tasks by phases
> 2) Tight compact time line
> 3) High degree of coordination required to have events and people in place and acting
> 4) Each piece requires highly sophisticated actors/incumbents

If those interpretations are defensible, and we believe they are, now, in long retrospect, the plan, the analysis of the problem by the FEDs, posed a framework which put severe demands on the project management. When juxtaposed to IAP's complex structure--merger of ARC and GPC, geographical dispersion, ideology, the improbability of pulling it off seems, in retrospect, apparent. The field notes continued:

> 5) The task/phase flow came too fast (e.g., the February Conference cross-setting foci, Task II on them before the field researchers really knew what was happening (OBS: they would have had to be incredibly sophisticated field workers), Eastern City articulation activities

6) Items like the field data forms and computer system were too new (trials in the previous study were not actualized), too time-consuming, and too conflict generating
7) Consuming effects of ideology and short term and long term agendas: participatory governance and power, sex and race
8) Changing flux at settings, e.g., one of the field worker's story on the community agency, the university, the public school
9) Too little experience by all personnel
   a) the key managers have not carried out such a large project
   b) the field researchers
   c) the research supervisor

Again, in retrospect, these items convey images of major management decisions in IAP and the consequences, mostly negative, of those decisions for the organization. The summary notes continued on a series of items related to what we came to call the givens.

10) Geographical complications especially Central City/Eastern City and Western City/Southwestern City
11) Merging of organizations--FEDs and IAP, ARC and GPC, GPC and Southwestern City Public Schools, ARC and Central City Schools, Eastern City IAP and Eastern City Public Schools

The issue of conflict appeared.

12) Multiple internal conflicts--ARC (Roy and Randy), Sites (Setting #1 in Eastern City)

And finally, a note on the relations at the school level.

13) Issues re: ultimate contact with pupils. See case study re: brokerage move [rather than direct action] of the Community Agency. Some attention to schools as loosely coupled systems, i.e., 1) local systems and 2) loose/non-articulated relations among schools elementary/junior high/senior highs. (Sum. Obs/Y5)

A day later, while on the same trip, another set of notes were made shortly after an interview. The observer sat in a restaurant and jotted one page of summary observation notes. Without realizing it at the time the notes caught much of the IAP story and analysis. They seem an easy and important way to continue the summary.

0. Summary notes of interview
1. Seemed open and frank
2. Seemed terribly frustrated over lack of data and inability to get in on key themes they saw as central to IAP thrust
3. Gentle, articulate, sensitive person. No malice or hostility. Disappointment perhaps seemed best view of the emotional state
4. Seemed to be one of the minimally trained (AB and MA) but ready to profit (especially with recent central staff help), and grew with case study writing

5. All the themes seemed evident
    1) too little time
    2) always responding to an immediate crisis
    3) no one--at any level knowing what it was all about
    4) no one able to do his own piece alone and well
    5) size of IAP task
    6) geography
    7) personalities in conflict
    8) rapid expansion of IAP
    9) personnel turnover
    10) politics at every level
6. Tactic of methodological appendix and substantive theme seemed to work well. (Sum. Obs/YS)

In short the observers as they read documents, prepared for the interviews, carried out the interviews, and reflected upon them in brief telegraphic style in the notes began to form a percept of the project as a total system. That totality becomes the practical and theoretical agenda for managerial coping. In one last pass through the project we accent elements that seem an elaboration of Udy (1965), Shapero and Bates (1959) and others from whom we have drawn ideas for our perspective.

Context

Time, Place, and People

The element of time is so basic and so important, yet so much a part of common sense that it seldom receives the consideration it should. In IAP time appeared in multiple ways. The contract, as almost all contracts, contained a time dimension--begin now, end then. The tasks, the activities, the work were organized into phases, I, II, and III. The funding (the resources) was stepwise, some now, some later, and some even later--maybe. Administrators and social scientists have generated all kinds of mechanisms to handle time in relation to other elements, e.g., schedules, flow charts, and PERT diagrams. Time can be conceptualized into units which vary in kind and duration. Events or episodes are initial common sense distinctions.

Events not only indicate a sectioning of time, but they also occur in divided up places or settings. Wherever more than one setting exists someone has to decide which one will be used, or if both, when and by whom. Once again, place is such a fundamental element that it often gets lost as a part of common sense. In addition, the intractability of place is frequently misestimated, as our discussion of the geographical dispersion in IAP makes explicit.

Organizations always involve people, individual actors. And, as a managerial friend of our stated so pithily, "people is aggravation." Stated more fundamentally, in Western liberal thought, the dignity of the single individual is among the most fundamental values of our society. If one sees the individual actor as having intentions, purposes and needs, as having attitudes, motives and emotions, and as having skills, abilities and talents, all of which they bring along to the organization then the manager is posed with a problematic situation. Further, if there are a number of individuals, as always happens in an organization, and if the idiosyncratic patterns vary as they always do and sometimes to the point of being in conflict, as they did in IAP, then the manager has an additional set of problems. By design and by informal interaction people in organizations separate in subgroups and coalitions, which, in turn, take on lives of their own.

Environment, Resources, and Products

Every organization exists in an environment from which it receives its resources and to which it distributes its products. Environments can be conceptualized as ever-expanding concentric circles of social systems, as presses which satisfy or frustrate needs, as stable or turbulent, as open or closed. They, too, have parts and elements each of which can be a system itself. IAP had several environments--the ten settings where inquiry activities occurred, the two settings where consultative assistance took place, and the various boards and groups of individuals who reviewed and made judgments of IAP's progress and products. These groups were interlocked with the FEDs, the controllers of IAP's resources.

Resources are usually dollars. These can be converted into people, machines, raw materials which make up the work, the tasks to be done and the products to be produced. Government funded projects, like many social service organizations and unlike profit making organizations, obtain resources not by selling products to consumers, but by convincing someone with dollars that what they do is important and should be funded or should continue to be funded. This, too, is such a simple, common sense distinction that its critical importance is often overlooked. IAP wasn't producing widgets, IAP was trying to convince people in the educational community that what it was doing was worthwhile. Early on it did that very well, won the competition, and received the contract. Later, it did not, and received only terminal funding rather than Phase III support. At its worst, convincing people is phony PR image-building; at its best, convincing people is the never-ending political process of quality products in an arena of multiple values.

The products of IAP were conceptualized variously by different groups connected with IAP at different times in its history. Recall our discussions of "good conversations," "case study reports," "cross-setting analysis" and such services as "giving consultative assistance" and "helping children," not to mention the more esoteric goals as "knowledge development" and "knowledge utilization" or articulation. Producing widgets in a competitive market has some simplistic appeal.

Formal Structure

Our loose concatenation of concepts, toward a theory of educational organizations includes an internal cluster--goals, positions, tasks and rules. The goals evolve through interaction with the environment, explicitly in mandates and formal contracts, implicitly in the continuing interaction between the organization and its environment. Goals and subgoals, as preferred states are internal statements which give meaning to products and their development.

Positions are organizational parts which interrelate people, organizational tasks or activities needing doing if goals are to be achieved, products produced and exchanged for further resources. A number of dimensions or aspects of positions required discussion in IAP. Positions changed--the co-director positions became director and deputy director. The miscasting of people in IAP pointed to an incongruency of individuals in positions. Inexperience was an analytic conception referring to the inability of individuals to carry out activities prescribed by the positions.

Procedures is something of a catchall category, for the ways things are done in an organization. In time, organizations develop standard operating procedures, ways in which problematic or potentially problematic situations are handled. Bureaucratic rules are a good example of attempts to make clear how things are done, to avoid conflict and expedite the activities of the organization. One of the major tasks of a new organization is just this, formalization of procedures. IAP presented continuing problems here especially regarding governance where one set of structures was replaced by another and then by others.

The tasks or activities of the organization are labels used to specify the major activity or work of the organization, the elements that produce the products or services. In IAP they were categorized in three clusters--inquiry, consultative assistance and articulation.

When goals, positions, procedures and tasks come together, one has the formal structure of an organization. At its best, this formal structure is an operational definition or a concrete instance of a theory of organization, which, in turn, is a representation of the theoretical problem of articulation, the process of knowledge development and utilization in education. In IAP, these concatenated theories within and between levels of abstraction were not specified clearly.

Informal Structure

Most of what we have talked about so far in this summary is part of what usually is called the formal organization, formal structure or external system. Even if not mandated directly by the environment, they are necessary for the organization's survival. Beyond those elements, organizations elaborate themselves beyond their formal structures and processes.

Ideology, Formal Doctrine, Norms, and Sentiments

Groups and organizations have patterns of beliefs, sentiments, attitudes, and values which represent their point of view, outlook and perspective. When these have been consciously articulated, codified and written down we have called them formal doctrine. When the sentiments and attitudes are more verbal, more intangible, more diffuse and uncodified, we have called them ideology. In IAP, as in many reform oriented organizations, ideology was a major element. Ideologies have important functions in mobilizing energies for high investment in organizational activity. They have important dysfunctions in being difficult to manage and in screening out important pieces of information about organizational and environmental realities.

Subgroups

Most group and organizational theorists and practitioners agree that every group, over time will differentiate into subgroups based on interests, friendships, perceived commonality and proximity. As Roethlisberger and Dickson noted many years ago, they mediate between the formal structure and the individual and serve to protect the individual.

Conclusion

All this was made terribly complicated in IAP by the merger of the original organizations, the geographical distances that threw some people together and kept others apart.

Leaders, managers, and administrators are part of these elements and systems within systems. They have special opportunities, and responsibilities in guiding, directing and coordinating the elements. The complexity of such a task and the demands it makes personally, socially and intellectually are always greater than anticipated. The relative frequency of people in education able to cope with these demands is limited. Comparatively across professions and institutions (economic, religious, military and government), these frequencies may vary considerably. In IAP, the problems and complications in coping were severe.

5. AN ANALOGICAL EPILOGUE

While we were puzzling through the data and interpretations in this chapter, the analogy arose between IAP and Project I/D/E/A's SECSI, Study of Educational Change and School Improvement. While we know of SECSI and the League of Cooperative Schools mostly through published sources, and hence, may be dealing more with its facade than its reality, several key similarities in intent seem to exist, several key differences in leadership also seem to exist, and each of the projects terminated under greatly different circumstances. Such conditions seem to be ripe for generating theory. In particular they provide one more opportunity to illuminate the coping activities of the Inquiry and Assistance Project leadership.

Both IAP and the SECSI had similarities in intent, that is, they attempted to respond at the local school level to the discouragement over the lack of impact of educational research and development on the process of schooling. Both had a major inquiry orientation. Bentzen et al (1974) quotes Goodlad:

> If we come out of this having successfully changed some schools, but we don't know how, then we will have failed in this project. But if our attempts to change schools succeed or fail, and we can explain pretty well how it happened, then the project will have been a success (p. 5).

In short the priorities between effecting change and studying change while interrelated were, ultimately, first, studying change and second, effecting change.

A further problem of focus plagues many efforts of leaders focusing on educational innovation. Bentzen follows Goodlad's lead once again on the need to look at the adult life of the school.

> Our intervention in the schools was directed only at the interactions of principals and teachers and was evaluated only in terms of those interactions. We defined our task as trying to bring about and study change processes as they appeared in the adult life of the schools. We did not work with pupils and we did not systematically describe or measure teachers' work with children. The decision to limit the project to an investigation of the behavior of the school staffs rested on a position which has been presented elsewhere by Goodlad. In that presentation Goodlad summarizes the need for a broader range of subject matter in studies of schooling.
>
> > Goals for education and schooling tend to be stated in the form of some desired changes or accomplishments for students:

>> citizenship, work habits, understanding selected concepts, and the like. Consequently, efforts to improve tend to focus on specific pedagogical procedures and the measurement of pupil outcomes, with some accompanying feedback designed to provide information for revision. This effort to refine ends and means and the relationship between them is exceedingly important but insufficient. It fails to account for other factors which may be of considerable importance....
>>
>> The ultimate criterion for judging school programs is, indeed, what happens to students in them. Unfortunately, however, exclusive preoccupation with the criterion often has led to short-term experiments and premature rejection or endorsement of this or that technique. Meanwhile, the general context of schooling within which the experiments are conducted, which probably has a great deal to do with what is happening to students, remains unchanged. We often merely tinker when more fundamental examination and rehabilitation of the organism is called for.
>>
>> Current concern and a growing body of evidence regarding the functioning of schools suggest that, in addition to precise ends-means relationships of goals and instructional procedures, we must devote attention to the major variables making up the character of schools.

> It seemed to us that the ways in which school staffs live their professional lives is a legitimate subject for an inquiry into the problems of changing schools. Without denying that the ultimate proof of whatever pudding we offer will have to come from demonstrations which relate it to desirable pupil outcomes, we simply state that we have used the resources of one project to get a clearer picture of part of the crucial background and conditions of those outcomes. (1974, pp. 5-6)

In our view, the IAP leadership, at several levels in the hierarchy never clearly settled on the priorities among those several levels of analysis of educational events. Recently Charters and Jones (1973) have elaborated a multilevel analysis around the theme of "on the risk of appraising non-events in program evaluation." Vascillation at times, alternative statements at other times, and varying individual commitments to one or another of the possible priorities severely hampered IAP. Achieving project identity may be the ultimate integrative action or superordinate goal to be facilitated by project leaders.

In Goodlad's own account (1975) he stresses the "working hypotheses" which guided the SECSI project and his leadership of the League.

> ...the single school, with its principal, teachers, pupils, parents, and community links, is the key unit in educational change...(p. 52)

And,

> ...the principal's key role in the school's becoming a dynamic self renewing place. (p. 62)

Later these ideas were to be reworked by him and integrated into the more general perspectives of Conant (1964) on modes of scientific thinking, of Dewey (1929) on educational science and of Schwab (1964) on long term syntax.

The genesis and evolution of the ideas however were grounded in twenty years of prior personal experience in educational reform. The most significant of these involved a decade of work in the Atlanta Area Teacher Education Service (AATES) which had elements of inservice teacher education, child study, teacher centers, and the difficulties of the "institutional regularities of schooling." As he commented,

> Months after we began to meet, in spite of our efforts to direct the discussion otherwise, the nagging theme continued to be the impossibility of doing anything much different, given parental expectations, district requirements, administrative controls, misunderstanding and lack of interest on the part of colleagues, and on and on, perceived and probably actual obstacles (1975, p. 57).

Later this experience was amplified with a long term consulting relationship with a single elementary school.

> The charge was to upgrade in every way possible the total functioning of this little public school, which was at the time in dire trouble (p. 64).

The nitty-gritty, both problems and leadership tactics, the development of working relationships, are only hinted at (for example, see pp. 64-68). The acquisition of tacit knowledge and skills, while implicitly raised, seem critical.

In the early 1960s a mixture of research projects and directing UCLA's elementary school extended the experience. Old ideologies are troublesome for creators of new ones.

> Myths can be formidable obstacles to change, especially because the perceptions involved are so immune to scrutiny (p. 68).

The contrast in the experience and history of IAP's leaders, particularly at the Applied Center for Research seems great. Once again, IAP can be seen as an even more difficult setting than Goodlad's League. For GPC, the Group Process Center, had a more specialized but quite long history of intervention experience. In a sense, we've come part way back toward full circle to an indigenous conflict within the management and leadership of the Inquiry and Assistance Project. Once again, we need to emphasize that we are neither attempting to eulogize Goodlad, SECSI, and the League, nor to criticize the leaders of IAP, rather we are trying by comparative analysis to illuminate issues in project leadership and administration. In addition, we are arguing a methodological point--all the materials we have seen on the Project I/D/E/A have been written by project personnel. Our account has both the strengths and weaknesses of mostly an outsider's perspective. Perhaps it is best to leave the analogical epilogue right there.

Section IV

CONCLUSIONS

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Chapter Eleven

A Concluding Perspective on Federal Policy in Action

1. INTRODUCTION

In this concluding chapter we make a third try at establishing a perspective on Federal Policy in Action. We use perspective advisedly, much as Shibutani does:

> A perspective is an ordered view of one's world, what is taken for granted about the attributes of various objects, events and human nature....The fact that men have such ordered perspectives enables them to conceive of their changing world as relatively stable, orderly and predictable. (1955, p. 564)

Our first perspective was the narrative developed in Section II, an initial overview of the genesis, development and eventual demise of IAP. The second perspective was a more analytical and interpretive account of Federal Policy in Action. Now, as a third perspective we turn to the literature, or at least to several major statements on policy. Our intent is simple although the actual process is not. We present brief synopses of several classical positions, we compare and contrast them with each other and with our data, our narrative, and our analytical interpretations, and then we reach for a synthesis.

Insofar as our ordered view develops and uses clear concepts and creates interesting hypotheses and systems of hypotheses, we might have called this concluding chapter "Toward a theory of Federal Policy in Action." We intend it to be useful to that intersect of educationists in schools, R & D, and government organizations.

2. POSITIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

In any area of intellectual or scientific ferment a troubling kind of excitement occurs. Stimulating conceptualizations vie with one another to capture or phrase the empirical world and to ensnare or persuade the community of workers--theorists, researchers and practitioners. As we read and organized some of this literature, it seemed to break into three large clusters. Meta-level models seemed to be the thrust of the Boguslaw (1965) and Allison (1971) positions. Several positions seemed to fit the rubric, substantive analyses. May (1973), Janis (1972), Lindblom (1969) and Horowitz and Katz (1975) are the exemplars. Finally, Gross' (1977) position speaks explicitly to educational policy. To move toward our own position it seems pedagogically more sensible to go from the more specific tothe more general and abstract.

2.1 Gross' Policy Theory:
Federal, Educational, and Case Study

As one moves into the more abstract and general one tries to juxtapose one's case to theory, research, or practice where the central settings, concepts, and methods approach identity. The lessons here should be highly similar, reinforcing, and supplementing. At first blush, it seemed that Gross (1977) had written our chapter for us in his "Theoretical and policy implications of case study findings about federal efforts to improve public schools."

Gross' analysis builds on his study of the Cambire School with additional conclusions from the half dozen case studies of the Experimental Schools Project. His major attack is on the limitations of the middle range theory, "overcoming resistance to change" which he sees as the usual major explanatory position for failure in organizational innovation. The major thrust of his attack is the identification of some eight "impediments to organizational change efforts" which have been noted in the case studies carried out by himself and his colleagues. We have abstracted these as Figure 11.1. In brief we see these as a major indictment of the creativity of the professional educational establishment both in the schools and the universities which is trying to solve the large difficult problems with the public schools (Items 3 and 4). Almost all the other items (1, 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8) bear upon the leadership within the school, the local school district, or the state and federal establishments. The image which went through our heads in reading his analysis was the multiple kinds of society's talent--social, intellectual, and creative--being skimmed off into the artistic, literary, business and industrial world. And Education, and especially Educational Administration, being left with the dregs, people who can't plan, analyze, monitor, involve, or lead.

Insert Figure 11.1 about here

1. Limited and erroneous diagnosis and analysis of "the problem" to be remedied
2. Failure to anticipate, recognize or resolve multiple sub-problems arising in the implementation of the particular innovation
3. Ad hoc, disjointed accumulation of innovations intrinsically incompatible among themselves or with the prior program
4. Uncritical acceptance of questionable, widely publicized innovations
5. Absence of formative evaluation, monitoring, and feedback mechanisms
6. Administrative fiat, lack of faculty and community involvement
7. Inadequate, short-, mid-, and long-term planning
8. Paucity or absence of administrative leadership

Figure 11.1 Gross's Impediments to Organizational Change Efforts

In our case, "leadership" is distributed over several organizations, over time, and over several kinds of tasks. In part it lies within the FEDs, within five white males who developed the proposal, and later later with the evolving structure of IAP itself. We involved concepts such as alternative of grandeur to capture the broad scope of the original plans, the givens as a part of process over time, the alternative school ideology to capture the idealism present early and throughout the project personnel, the complexity of educational inquiry and practice activities, and social conflict arising from quite divergent interests. Finally the problems of leadership occurred as well.

The most relevant aspects of our case seem to be the twin efforts in Consultative Assistance in Central City and Far Western City. This was the point of direct contact of the project implementing changes in the public schools. In agreement with Gross, we found "resistance to change" a much too limited conception of impediments. In contrast, in Central City, as previously analyzed, we found items such as alternative federal policy especially the shifting of faculty members, of integration purposes conflicting with IAP's efforts. One set of important goals took precedent over another. In addition, we found "liabilities of newness," that is the Central City team of IAP spent considerable time getting its act together, finding out how to work together, learning what it knew which could be helpful. The funding uncertainty (which became a reality) necessitates a contingency set of plans if not a general cautiousness, if budgets are always problematic. Finally we argued that several of Gross's impediments are major complicated issues in their own right. Faculty and community involvement vary in definition, in kinds of actions, and in potential for conflict. "Whose side are you on?" was not an irrelevant question even when the "good of the children" was accepted by all.

A major limitation we found in Gross's analysis is the "why" of his defined state of affairs. He seemed to be reaching for the beginnings of a systemic analysis but stopped short of the specification of causes, and causes of causes, which eventually return one full circle to an integrated theory. In part, he handles this by turning his attention to implications of the findings for federal policy and programs, assuming that this is a major set of factors. He raises seven items, most of which bear on the data, the story, and the analysis of our case. Figure 11.2 lists them. As we read these, several seem in conflict, more regulation and supervision and less regulation and supervision (Items 2 and 3). A strong focus on individual ineptness of both local and federal personnel which can be overcome by training programs (Items 1, 4, 5, and 6). Item seven argues for less categorical and more individualized and, which demands, probably much more sophisticated work and judgment by already presumed inept groups of school people and government officials. The knotty problems of ideology, of personnel selection, of social conflict, of difficult activities, all of which are important organizational issues and all of which were significant to our case were neither mentioned nor addressed.

Insert Figure 11.2 about here

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1. Misunderstandings and conflicts between the "feds" and local school district officials, in part due to performance deficiencies of the feds
2. Contractual arrangements to minimize cavalier and inept treatment of teachers by local administrators
3. Federally originated constraints, delays, communication difficulties, unpredictabilities and attempts to "take over" local school systems
4. Federally initiated training programs to overcome the ineptness in leadership performances of local school officials
5. Federal sponsorship of consultant directories for more efficient use of consultants
6. Federal initiatives and sponsoring of inservice training and organizational development for the inept or dysfunctional performance of federal officials
7. Categorical aid legislation needs to be replaced by local districts tailor-made approaches to educational reform

Figure 11.2 Gross's Policy Implications for School Reform

2.2 Substantive Analogies

When one is new to an area or a set of problems, one strategy of thought is to look to analogies and metaphors. A related strategy is to focus on classical statements, the best descriptive and interpretive accounts available. In a sense one brings the hard realities of one's case up against situations with varying amounts of similarity and dissimilarity and against the best thinking available. Then one tries for an order, a synthesis. For instance, May (1973), in a well received book, presents an historian's analysis entitled, Lessons from the past: the use and misuse of history in American foreign policy. Several lines of reasoning illustrate why we think it is relevant and important for our analysis. 1) It was suggested to us by an official at the Federal Education Department as important in their thinking. 2) In part we have conceptualized our case as "policy in action" which has received some questioning by actors in the case. If policy is a key concept, general foreign policy might be an enlightening analogy. 3) One of IAP's goals was articulation, a kind of knowledge development and utilization, which might be conceived as a lesson from the immediate past, or the partially concurrent present. 4) Our own commitment has been to the importance of the "case study" in administrative thinking (Smith, 1974a), to the importance of cumulating cases in social science and education at this point in time (Smith, 1974b), and to the role of the case study in theories of action (Smith, 1978).

May's Lessons From the Past

In its most general form, the structure of May's argument appears in a series of assertions in his introduction and his conclusion. The chapters on each policy case present specific detail and illustrations of the argument. The critical initial assertions are these:

1. "...framers of foreign policy are often influenced by beliefs about what history teaches or portends" (p. IX). For example, "when statesmen of the 18th Century cited the past, they assumed that human nature was constant and that universal Newtonian laws governed it" (p. X).
2. "...policy makers ordinarily use history badly. When resorting to an analogy, they tend to seize upon the first that comes to mind. They do not search more widely. Nor do they pause to analyze the case, test its fitness, or even ask in what ways it might be misleading" (p. XI).
3. "...policy makers can, if they will, use history more discriminatingly...if well done, they might help people who must make choices or must estimate the future to free themselves from the analogies, parallels or trend readings which they might otherwise unthinkingly apply" (pp. XII-XIII).

Our reactions are multiple and build upon his later clarifying examples and our own developing position. As we read him, the argument essentially develops the pitfalls in productive thinking. For instance,

1. Limited and partial analogies
   "What is surprising is how completely their postwar planning was controlled by a handful of analogies and parallels, all from their own lifetime" (p. 16).

2. Single images and scenarios
   "The administration's vision of the postwar world seems to have been dominated by a single image" (p. 16).

3. Discontinuities in human experinece
   "...the future might not proceed in a straight line from the immediate past" (p. 17).

4. Limited critical scrutiny
   "...the history employed for this purpose was narrowly selected and subjected to no deliberate scrutiny or analysis" (p. 51).

5. Leadership and group influences
   "It was Truman's choice to refrain from inviting arguments that might put in doubt the basic resolve to which he had so promptly come" (p. 74).

6. Inability to cumulate cases
   "What stands out in all these cases is the fact that bombing worked relatively little change in the positions or attitudes of individuals. Haile Selassie, the Spanish Republicans, Chiang, and Churchill became, if anything, more resolute" (p. 130).

In short, these are the kinds of factors which elucidate his position of poor historical reasoning or thinking.

Finally, while speaking of history he seems to make a more general argument for case studies.

> Often, their [the policy makers] knowledge of what in fact occurred earlier is shallow or faulty, and deficiencies in information breed greater deficiencies in reasoning. Having learned not to trust inexpert guesswork where numbers, economic models, or scientific formulas are concerned, perhaps they will see that they also need clearer understanding of the history that so often imprisons them" (p. 190).

In sum, May's focus is not on the amount and quality of information regarding the present situation, rather it is mostly on the very way in which one structures the problem, the latent metatheoretical belief system, the metaphors and the analogies one uses, and, especially, the contribution of the community's earlier experience, history, in that kind of productive thinking called policy formation.

May seems to subscribe to a rational model in which policy problems arise from inadequate thinking by individuals. Overall, our case suggests numerous instances of the correctness of his observations. In addition, and these are important additions, our case suggests other critical events. First, almost all the major decisions were made in the context of groups of individuals--in the FEDs, in ARC, in GPC and in IAP per se. The collectivity runs throughout. Secondly, our case has a strong time frame, decisions which were made early constrained later decisions. Clean slates seldom, if ever, exist. Third, policy decisions and directives are always encompassed in or implemented in individuals, group and organizational action. The very process of carrying out a directive, in our case, always seemed to involve a little more, a little less, and a little difference from the original intention. It's as though one were dealing with Euler or Venn diagrams. The reasons for this have been related in our complicated story and analysis. For openers, the FED's policy was intended, in part, to be creative and open. Creativity does not fit well into most policy and organizational models and theories. In part, incumbents bring along ideologies as well as rationality. Also, they bring about supplementary talents and deficits of skill and ability. In addition, they create social structures which are too simple or too cumbersome as well as some which are highly functional. Finally, they bring interests and points of view which are legitimate but different (as well as some which might be irrelevant as well as different) but which also conflict.

Insert Figure 11.3 about here

Janis' Group Think Hypothesis

In a parallel but far from identical analysis of foreign policy decisions, Janis (1972) generates his social psychological hypothesis that ill-starred foreign policy decisions, fiascos is his label, arise often from group think, the tendency for cohesive groups to press for uniformity, concurrence seeking at the expense of critical thinking and effective problem solving. The elements in his position appear in Figure 5.1. He distinguishes two broad categories of events--factors in group think and common causes of human stupidity. The common causes of human stupidity isolate a variety of elements

Insert Figure 11.4 about here

in productive thinking which were not raised in May's account. Nor are they treated in any depth by Janis. This suggests that we are dealing with two limited partial theories, as important as each might be. If that is so then the bearing of our empirical research on the theories might be significant.

But Janis' main contribution lies in bringing a social psychological perspective to bear on policy formation. His first assumption, that almost all, if not all, policy is a product of group deliberations, seems to us to be generally warranted, and most certainly it was true in the FED's deliberations. A second assumption, one basic to most social psychological and small group theorists, is that group phenomena are not totally reducible to individual psychological principles.[1] With this focus, he raises the kind of group phenomena which inhibit creative and critical problem solving and productive thinking. Illusions of invulnerability and unanimity, and the suppression of personal

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[1] Considerable intramural argument and alternative interpretations lie here as might be seen in a comparison of Blumer (1969), Cartwright and Zander (1968), and Homans (1950, 1974).

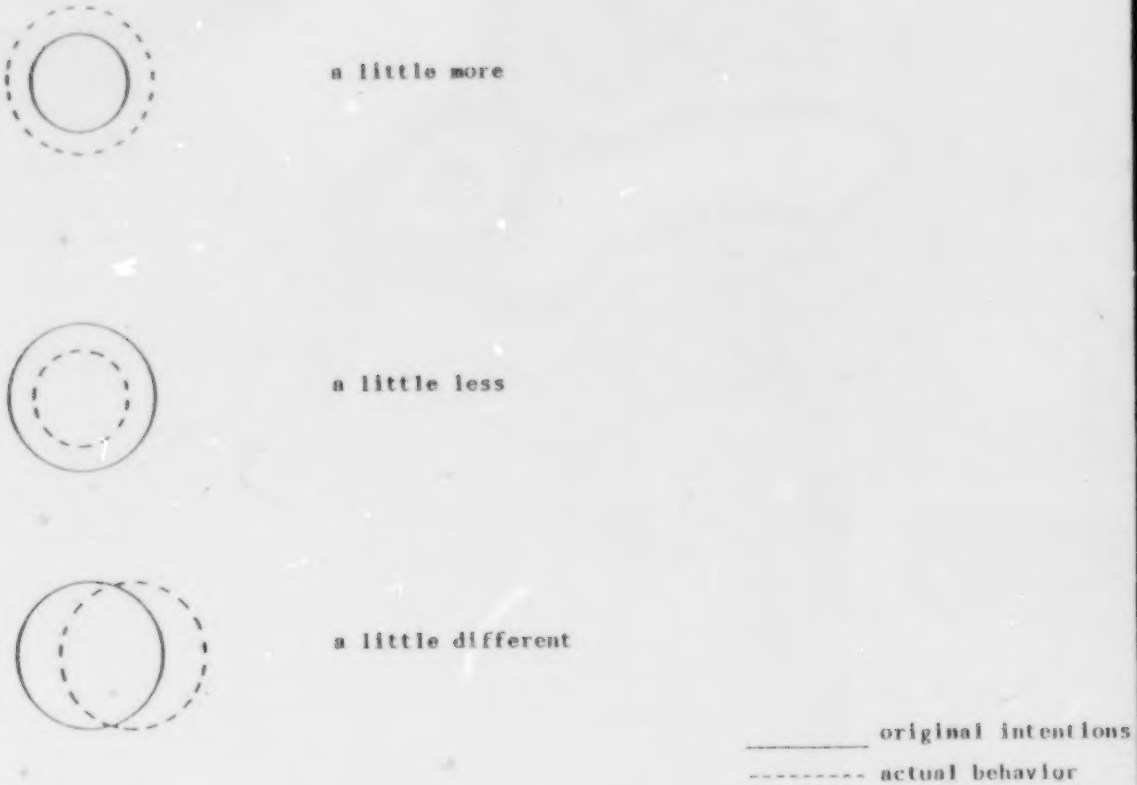
a little more
a little less
a little different
original intentions
actual behavior

Figure 11.3 A diagrammatic view of intentions and actions

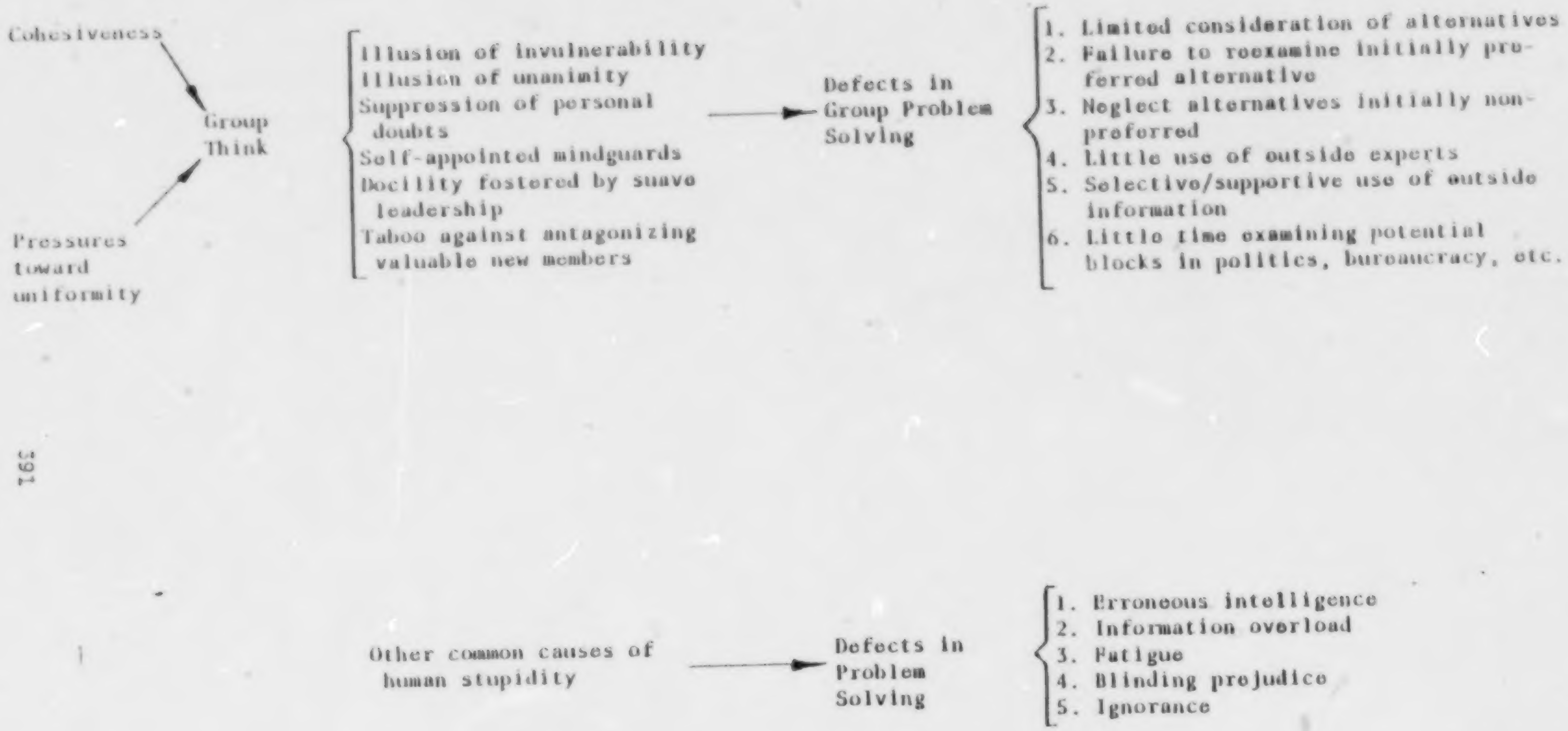
Cohesiveness
Group Think
Pressures toward uniformity
Illusion of invulnerability
Illusion of unanimity
Suppression of personal doubts
Self-appointed mindguards
Docility fostered by suave leadership
Taboo against antagonizing valuable new members
Defects in Group Problem Solving
1. Limited consideration of alternatives
2. Failure to reexamine initially preferred alternative
3. Neglect alternatives initially non-preferred
4. Little use of outside experts
5. Selective/supportive use of outside information
6. Little time examining potential blocks in politics, bureaucracy, etc.
Other common causes of human stupidity
Defects in Problem Solving
1. Erroneous intelligence
2. Information overload
3. Fatigue
4. Blinding prejudice
5. Ignorance

Figure 11.4 Janis' Conception of Group Think (1972, pp. 9-11 and 35-48)

doubts are reminiscent of the classical laboratory experiments by Asch (1955) and Crutchfield (1960). The self appointed guardians of group thinking, docility and concern over antagonizing valuable members suggest the laboratory and field work of Festinger, Schachter, and their associates (1950, 1951a, b, 1956).

Janis seems to offer a broader group context for May's analysis, almost an explanation for the reasons May raises in the faulty thinking of policy makers. The items in the two lists of problem solving overlap quite highly and begin to provide an image of the thought processes in policy formation. That seems an important convergence for the kind of synthesis we hope to suggest. As with the May book, Janis's *Victims of Group Think* was suggested to us by a member of IAP. He thought it critical for understanding the problems of the project. Recall, the concluding quote from Chapter Four. "Finally, too many of us suffered from group think too often....Shame on me." Note also that this observation was made about a time in the project beyond the initiative within the Federal Education Department itself.

In brief, then, Janis seems to be staying with a meta model of rationality quite similar to May's model. He accents a particular group process, i.e., group think, which limits the quality of rationality. This represents an important but still too limited extension of May's position. The very fact that one of IAP's leaders saw it six months into the project, within IAP itself, and not in the early policy deliberations by the FEDs supports the kinds of comments we were making in our critique of May's position. That line of critique seems also a logical outgrowth of Janis' more social psychological position as well. In part we seem to be arguing that group processes and organizational processes, well beyond group think are involved in our case of federal policy in action.

Lindblom's Muddling Through

In "The Science of Muddling Through," Lindblom (1969) strikes out in a very different direction than either May or Janis in his look at the policy formation process. He concentrates his analysis on the problem solving process per se as he argues that the usual approach to policy formation, what he calls the root or rational-comprehensive model, developed by operations research and statistical decision theory is inapplicable to the complex problems of policy formation. He offers instead a practice based alternative from public administration which he calls the branch or successive limited comparisons model. If we understand his argument, the underlying theoretical model of problem solving is at stake. He believes the theorists have misled the practitioners who have complex policy problems to solve. In effect he is raising question with the very structure of the Janis and May conception of individual and group problem solving. At a minimum, he's making problematic what they are latently assuming. Figure 11.5 contains his analysis of the two paradigms.

Insert Figure 11.5 about here

As he builds the case for the incremental, muddling through, branching model he raises a number of issues not considered by May and Janis. First, and perhaps foremost is the major importance of multiple often conflicting, and difficult to specify values in all social problem solving. Social problems are

Rational-comprehensive (root)	Successive limited comparisons (branch)
1a. Clarification of values or objectives distinct from and usually prerequisite to empirical analysis of alternative policies.	1b. Selection of value goals and empirical analysis of the needed action are not distinct from one another but are closely intertwined.
2a. Policy-formulation is therefore approached through means-end analysis: First the ends are isolated, then the means to achieve them are sought.	2b. Since means and ends are not distinct, means-end analysis is often inappropriate or limited.
3a. The test of a "good" policy is that it can be shown to be the most appropriate means to desired ends.	3b. The test of a "good" policy is typically that various analysts find themselves directly agreeing on a policy (without their agreeing that it is the most appropriate means to an agreed objective).
4a. Analysis is comprehensive; every important relevant factor is taken into account.	4b. Analysis is drastically limited: i) Important possible outcomes are neglected. ii) Important alternative potential policies are neglected. iii) Important affected values are neglected.
5a. Theory is often heavily relied upon.	5b. A succession of comparisons greatly reduces or eliminates reliance on theory.

Figure 11.3 Lindblom's Comparison of Policy Formation Models (1969, p. 327)

unlike arithmetic problems; the good solution always is contingent upon some pattern of values. A *second* and related point is that means and ends are inextricably bound together, i.e., "one chooses among values and among policies at one and the same time" (p. 329). *Third*, in looking at alternatives, the central point of focus is on the incremental and marginal increase of policy X over policy Y. The analyst turns away from general formulations. *Fourth*, correctness of policy can only be formulated in terms of comparison with other policies that might have been chosen. At an operational level agreement on policy becomes the only practical test. Ultimately, in his view, the rational model which tests policy alternatives against values succumbs to the same criterion, for agreement is the final test on values. Here he plays toward a group criterion in a way different from Janis' concern with group process.

In a *fifth* point, Lindblom shifts the level and kind of analysis significantly as he makes a provocative far reaching claim.

> Democracies change their policies almost entirely through incremental adjustments. Policy does not move in leaps and bounds (p. 331).

In his view, politically impossible policies are irrelevant, and simplification of alternatives by eliminating the unfeasible is not capricious. A *sixth*, and related point, is that a kind of comprehensiveness is achieved because special interest groups are always playing "watchdog" on government actions and government bureaus are sensitive to those influences. He labels this mutual adjustment. He doesn't address the issues of differential social power at this point, that is, acknowledge the kind of radical argument made more recently by Lukes (1974).

A *seventh* very significant issue, and one only minimally attended to by May and by Janis concerns the role of time.

> ...comparisons, together with the policy choice, proceed in a chronological series. Policy is not made once and for all; it is made and re-made endlessly. *Policy making is a process of successive approximation to some desired objectives in which what is desired itself continues to change under reconsideration* (p. 333). [Our Italics.]

Among other things, this point becomes a powerful explanatory reason as to why administrators are always busy, have minimal time for reflection, and, as we comment elsewhere, why service functions always crowd out research functions in R & D organizations. Lindblom extends the general point for a major argument on the limits of theorizing for practitioners and the disdain of practitioners for theorists. For the present, he accents the importance of the time context, the past and future, in policy formation, or, stated in other words, the importance of historical analysis in case study inquiry on policy formation.

Finally, in regard to this seventh point, Lindblom speaks in a manner which synthesizes a part of the May and Janis perspectives. He argues that people experienced in different policy chains of sequences (e.g., Swiss and American students of anti-trust policy) will have very different organizations or structures of knowledge. For some purposes the policy maker will want commonality and for other purposes he will want diversity. What better way of specifying a counter to group think and a method for multiple and thoroughly developed analyses and metaphors, images and scenarios!

If we understand Lindblom, it is a devastating critique of much of what goes by the name of rational decision-making in the domain of policy. The half-dozen points we have summarized from his position seem congruent with our criticisms of May and congruent with the description and analysis we have recorded in earlier sections of our report. If one links Lindblom's conceptual analysis to Wildavsky's (1964) empirical analyses, The Politics of Budgetary Process, the position is enlarged, beyond the intellectual processes in policy making to a much larger political framwork. Wildavsky's illustration stresses the congressional and departmental relationship rather than the longer strand of interconnections which our data speaks to.

Whose Side Are You On: The Horowitz and Katz Position

The Horowitz and Katz position does not fit easily in the general framework we have been developing. We will synopsize a half-dozen key positions and then circle back tothe bearing of their position on IAP problems and the bearing of our data, story, and analysis upon their position.

1. They focus on the relationship between the social science community and the government public service community.
2. They purposely avoid setting an hierarchical relationship between social science and policy.

   > ...we have left the matter of causal priority wide open. Whether the circuit starts with a socio-political "need to know," leading to a social scientific attempt to satisfy such practical requisites intellectually or whether the circuit really commences with a social scientific problematic situation that stimulates a practical policy requirement... (p. 4).

3. They emphasize:

   > ...the institutional setting of policy research rather than the headier realm of ideology...in the great majority of cases policy research is sponsored research. What is involved is an exchange system of buyers and sellers of information that is presumably scarce or difficult to generate (p. 1).

4. ...interrelationship of social science and policy making involves and invokes fundamental considerations of the connection of theory and practice that are at least as old as Aristotle and Marx... (p. 4).
5. Perhaps most fundamentally for us, they raise a series of problems concerning the mix of ethical and factual issues which we have labeled "whose side are you on" and the impossibility of political neutrality in social science policy research. For instance, in their case analysis of Project Camelot, a number of sides were polarized: the American position versus other national states (e.g., Chile), the revolutionary position versus the status quo in the third world country, the Department of State versus the Department of the Army position, the university position or the government position, or the professional social science community.

One basic reaction to the Horowitz and Katz position is that it seems too simple. That may be them, or us, or the particular instance of our case. As our data and analysis show, IAP was an instance of social science inquiry and government action. But it was an instance where social science inquiry and governmental action were hopelessly intertwined. The FEDs were trained as social scientists. They conceived the overall idea and represented it in an RFP. The proposal, by another group of social scientists from ARC and GPC was essentially a response to the RFP; in a sense it was a technological response to the FED's conception. But it wasn't just that either for the people at ARC and GPC had been "thinking that way" in their own prior work. In addition, some of each of the groups had known each other, been a part of earlier conferences and meetings, and worked on similar problems. At least within our domain of federal policy in action everyone seemed to know everyone. And this was not just true of the central actors. The interconnections of people from the FEDs, from ARC, from GPC, from IAP's Advisory Group and from the FED's review panels would look like a highly interrelated sociometric interaction, sociogram of old school ties, joint projects, conferences and seminars.

The classical positions of the logical positivists in the separation of social science facts and theory from policy, action, and practice did not exist in IAP, for better or worse. The need for Horowitz and Katz to go beyond institutional arrangements of buyers and sellers and into ideology, history, and praxis seems very evident from our data. In addition, we developed a very long and detailed chapter, the structure of activities, which in one sense is overdeveloped for the general theme of federal policy in action, but which was imperative for better understanding the policy implications of case study/ethnographic/field work kinds of social science which is supposed to help consultants help public schools to better reach their goals. The problems in doing that, as we argued, have not been well treated in the literature of public policy or social science. IAP's effort was a major attempt in this direction. Finally, our own involvement as historians and analysts pushed us toward a long and elaborate methodological appendix.

2.3 The Meta Level Models

In recent years two broad overlapping analyses of planning and policy processes has occurred. Allison (1971) speaks of three conceptual models which seem latent or explicit in the thinking of policy makers or policy critics. The most prevalent, Model I, is the rational actor model. The organizational process, Model II and the governmental politics, Model III he argues gives improved power of explanation and prediction. Boguslaw (1965) speaks of four broad "approaches to system design." These include the formalist, the heuristic, the operating unit and the ad hoc approach. While the labels differ, our contention is that each is addressing the same broad class of issues, models of the policy process. The models they present encompass varying and often unrecognized assumptions, categories and conceptions.

Boguslaw's New Utopians

Boguslaw captures nicely in his label, the new utopians, the phenomenon of a new cluster of people, often with sophisticated technological skills who are taking on social roles much broader than their technological training and work roles imply. They are the new utopians who have implicit views of society encapsuled within the technologies they bring to bear on social problems. System design is not just a scientific problem.

Early on, he makes, in our view, a very important and powerful distinction between kinds of situations, those that are established, emergent, or mixed. Established situations, or perhaps better, environments, are those with well known, specifiable and predictable components and relationships. Emergent situations tend to be less specifiable, less predictable. As one moves from physical to biological to human situations, one seems to move from the established to the emergent. But even within human situations a similar proposition might be made from "placid environments" to "turbulent environments" as Emery and Trist (1975) do. One of Boguslaw's major points is that different situations call for different planning processes. His taxonomy specifies four kinds of designs: formalist designs, heuristic designs, operating unit designs and ad hoc designs.

Perhaps the most important part of his analysis is the breadth he gives to intellectual alternatives or strategies in planning. In this sense he's well within the intellectual rational tradition, but he adds to it significantly for he clusters some items and makes important distinctions among others. The formalist approach involves an explicit or implicit use of models. He distinguishes two kinds of models, replica or pictorial models and symbolic models. The latter involve mathematics representations, flow charts, diagrams with boxes and arrows. This monograph and our earlier work indicate our partial sympathy in capturing social systems in more abstract theoretical language. We tend to be expost facto whereas Boguslaw tends to be design oriented. His heuristic approach involves using concepts and principles as guides to action. Some of these are more valuational as in his treatment of liberty, equality and fraternity and others are more conceptual. When we find ourselves raising such concepts as givens, ideology, conflict, and leadership as important for understanding federal policy in action we are invoking a system analysis of heuristics. We are urging the system actor to be alert to phenomena such as these as he goes about his creative problem solving. The operating unit approach seems to carry more a tenor of realism, what is, rather than idealism, what ought to be. It starts with characteristics of people and the ability to mold these characteristics to fit some preconceived design parameters. One of IAP's continuing problems was that of "miscasting," people in roles they could not play easily or well nor for which training occurred in large enough amounts or sophisticated enough style.

In his analysis of ad hoc styles he seems to be illustrating the Lindblom "muddling through" approach. He makes an important distinction involving the clarity of the ultimate design in the eyes of the system planning as opposed to the situation when it is not perceived clearly. In the former instance it is the implementation which is handled ad hoc. In the later, the needs and interests of the public are constantly being weighed. A third situation, when neither designer nor public has a clear view of the future introduces an evolutionary problem solving. These subordinate distinctions seem to us to be more important than the overall ad hoc category and suggest the need for reformulating his whole taxonomy. In one sense, this seems to be the direction taken by Allison (1971) in his analysis.

The Allison Position

Allison sought to understand and explain the events surrounding the Cuban missile crisis. He approached the problem by doing three case studies, each predicated on a different set of assumptions, a different set of categories and a different point of view or angle of vision. His general point of view, and one congruent with our analysis of IAP, is that these varying perspectives alter the very way one defines the problem and the kinds of alternatives one generates as solutions. One might say he has a political science analogue of the more aesthetic Roshomon.

He argues for three approaches to understanding that instance of policy in action. The rational actor model focuses on choice. The organizational model focuses on action, including choice, as organizational output. The political model sees governmental action as the resultant of interests, conflict, power, and bargaining. Figure 11.6, taken from his book summarizes the models.

Insert Figure 11.6 about here

Our sympathies for the Allison taxonomy should be readily apparent. He helped bring an order to many desparate items and loose ends in IAP and to much of the literature we had been reading on administration, organizations, and policy in education and social science. We have tabled a number of key conceptions and their spokesmen in Figure 11.7. These we have found useful individually and now see them clustered helpfully with Allison's rubrics.

Insert Figure 11.7 about here

While the conceptualization helped with a number of items from the IAP experience we will speak to just two major items. Where one takes a rational actor model as the paradigm for policy, the accent is on the problems of thinking and decision-making. As goals are clear and as means are closely linked probablistically with sub-goals and sub-goals with more distal ends then goal achievement and success seem straightforward and clear. So it is with formal doctrines, organizational charts, and flow diagrams. Built in as a basic assumption is that organizational action at each point is competent to the sub-tasks. Leaders are able to lead, supervisors to supervise and field workers to do creative field work. Where difficulties are discovered, training plans are created and outside experts are brought in. Again, competence to do specified tasks is sought and assumed. The organizational model turns one away from such a rational decision-making focus and asks what are the actual structures, the standard operating procedures, the coordinating mechanisms, the skills of incumbents. At this level IAP presented a significant reality, a reality with strong limitations on competence of organizational action. In the conception of policy in action, we are striving toward this as a most important observation.

The most significant insight, however, arises in considering participatory democracy as an ideological component of federal policy in action. The inability to integrate this phenomenon has haunted us through analyses of democratic teaching (Anderson, 1945; Smith and Geoffrey, 1968, Smith and Hudgins, 1964) and democratic administration (Smith and Keith, 1971) and now into educational policy

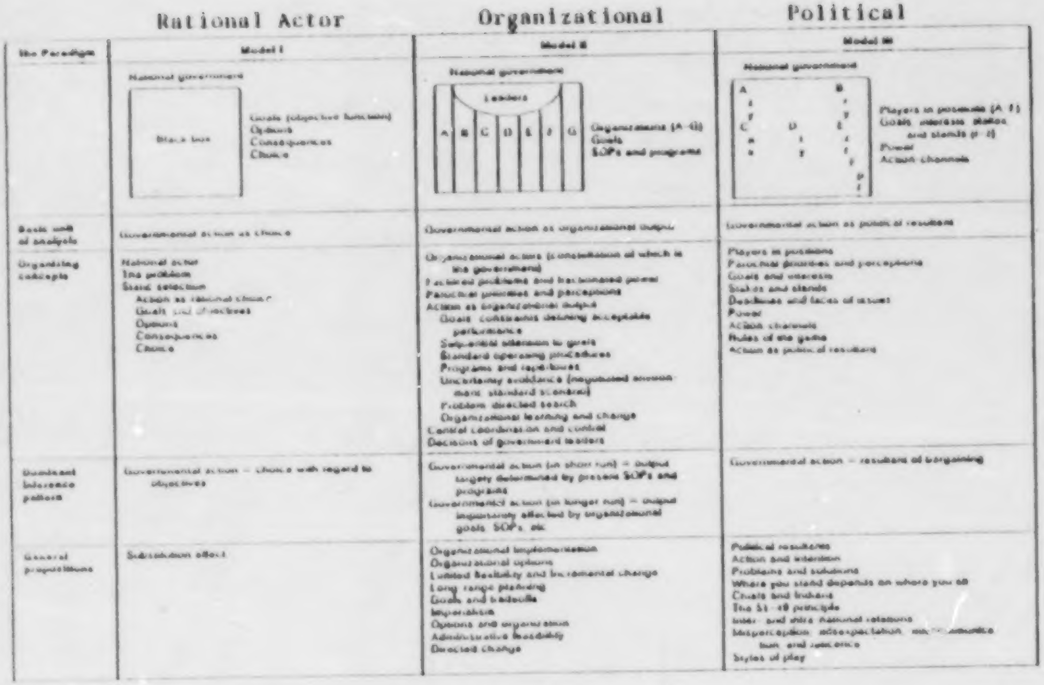
Rational Actor
Organizational
Political

Figure 11.6 An Overview of the Allison Analysis (1971, p. 256)

Rational

- Formalist (Boguslaw)
- Heuristic (Boguslaw)
- Group Think (Janis)
- Lessons From the Past (May)
- Alternative of Grandeur (Smith & Keith)
- Administrative Behavior (Simon)

Bureaucratic

- Operating Unit (Boguslaw)
- Loosely Coupled System (Weick)
- Educational (Gross)
- Creation of Settings (Sarason)

Political

- Ad hoc (Boguslaw)
- Muddling Through (Lindblom)
- Incremental (Lindblom & Wildavsky)
- Gradualist (Etzioni)

- Governmental (Horowitz & Katz)
- Politics of Innovation (House)

Figure 11.7 Regrouping of Approaches to Policy in Action

formulations. At one level of abstraction the point is exquisitely simple, as IAP adopted a participatory democratic ideology it foreclosed a simple Model II interpretation of IAP as a formal organization with a formal contract to do an externally specified piece of work. The ideology converted IAP from a bureaucratic to a political organization. And that, we would argue, is no minor change. Holding for the moment the desirability of the change, the fact of the change was large and mostly unanticipated. It legitimated all the disparate interests and points of view which resulted in conflicts over sex, race, class, labor management, and personal perspectives on distal goals, proximal goals, and such means as who does what, when, where, how, and with whom. All that we explored in detail throughout this report. Now it is helpful to see it as one option or perspective in policy analysis. Allison's taxonomy does that in very helpful fashion.

3. POLICY IN ACTION: AN INTERACTIONAL CONTEXTUAL AND SYSTEMIC THEORY

Understanding seems to come in layers, as when one reads and "understands cognitively." Oftentimes, in a crisis situation, when feelings run high one has an "emotional understanding." Somewhere, in between, lies appreciation, wherein one is both involved enough and detached enough to bring tacit knowledge into focus. When we first learned to spin and ply raw wool our understanding of the greasey texture of the wool and the workings of the wheel as a simple machine seemed to change in quality. As we often commented we never "appreciated" the elements and process before. Every participant observer study in which we have been involved has had some of the same quality. Each time a considerable body of tacit knowledge has changed its character just slightly in one sense but quite significantly in another sense. Nothing is really new when one appreciates something, but, to mix our metaphors, a bluriness comes into focus, a reorganization of perceptual, cognitive and sometimes emotional elements occurs. Such was the case with the original loosely integrated notion of federal policy in action. Now we think we have a perspective that gives new meaning, in the sense of appreciation, to several large and perhaps overworked words. We call our position interactional, contextual, and systemic. For those who like acronyms, it's the ICS or the SIC model of policy.

The Interactional Aspect

To the non-political, non-Washingtonian, Federal initiatives seem to arise in the distant ether and to float out across the land. In truth, if our case is at all representative, they arise out of the very ordinary processes of individual men and women meeting, talking, dreaming, arguing and convincing each other and their colleagues. In the recollections of one major participant, IAP began in a bar in New Orleans during an AERA meeting. A group of old friends who had known each other from graduate school days and post graduate innovation projects were setting around a table trading experiences. The discussion jelled on "the idea of case studies of good demonstration projects and the dissemination of the results to other school districts." Several of the group, some of whom were at ARC, the Applied Research Center, tried out a proposal on the Private Foundation, received strong support at the lower levels, but eventually were turned down at the upper levels of decision making. Meanwhile, another of the group, who was working at FED was writing a major departmental position paper which reflected the growing point of view of his department, which substantively overlapped the New Orleans discussions, and which had roots a half-dozen years earlier in Eastern University. A few months later another of the group left a junior practitioner post in a university, joined the Federal Education Department and began working on the RFP congruent with the position paper. It was to culminate in the Inquiry and Assistance Project.

Analytically, if not conceptually, the key ingredients seemed to be

1. a group of individuals who had known each other;
2. an array of ideas and beliefs about what was needed in education, what was important, and how it could be made to happen;

3. the crystallization into a definable statement, such as case studies, good demonstration projects, dissemination;
4. multiple attempts, some abortive, to obtain resources;
5. one individual's membership in a new and evolving department in the federal government;
6. the fleshing out of an idea which was congruent with and contributed to the development of identity of the department;
7. the translation into an RFP; and
8. the commitment of a significant fraction of the FED's budget to the project.

Again, at some common sense level, this seems little different than any other small group--in a school, a university department, or a local organization going about its day to day business of deciding on its focus, where and how it will use its energies, and from where its resources would come.

We might have labeled the interactional aspect as political or conflictual for this, too, was a part of the process. We developed in both the narrative and a long analytical chapter , the pervasive and intense nature of conflict within the project. The never-ending quality of conflict in policy arose in two ways late in our study and continued to provide insights. Our research had multiple participatory aspects. In the final iteration, sending our first draft report to the participants for feedback we were struck with the depth of feeling that remained toward erstwhile colleagues. We tried to incorporate those as "Year 6" comments, especially regarding the narrative account of the February Conference. In an important sense, we, "the detached observers and historians" have become deliberately participants in the overall process. The interactional aspect argues eventually that anyone who touches the project becomes a part of it. This includes other readers who eventually will change the project as they read our account, interpret it, debate it with their colleagues and students, and eventually act more directly on educational events in the light of it.

The second event occurred late in IAP. It concerned a developing debate between a member of the FEDs and a project reviewer over the role of the government in educational research. Both individuals are friends of ours and among our most respected professional colleagues. Each sent us copies of their correspondence. The concrete item was IAP, the more abstract general issue was the role of government. To recapitulate, one of the important novel elements of IAP was the hoped for "product" of a "good conversation" among the FEDs, the multiple individuals and sub-groups within IAP per se, and the personnel in the inquiry and consultative assistance settings. As we have indicated the FEDs felt very deeply about the kind of participatory community which they hoped to build, and, as responsible Ph.D. level trained educationists and social scientists, to remain a part of. A part of our story has been an account of the dashing of those hopes along the way. The issue here, however, is the very desirability of that kind of relationship. In the reviewer's eyes:

> My contention is a simple one. Supervision, consultative assistance or cooperative effort to a funded project direct from the funding agency is likely to be idealistic; "protective" of the larger endeavor; and immobilizing to the smaller endeavor, the project. There is no disagreement as to the need for help. The question is whether or not the funding agency can give it without being more hurtful than

> helpful. Your instance is especially interesting because of your earlier experience and because you are intelligent. You may have been under all kinds of pressure to write the letter to IAP: as was said, I too probably would have written some such letter in those circumstances; but it doesn't make any difference. The important thing is that good people do not prevent these things from happening. It is the obligation then for responsible officials to set up procedures that prevent incursion of central office in field operations. In order to do so the facts of such operations need to be studied.
>
> I still may be wrong in my assessment. I have had similar experiences elsewhere though. The same things appear to have occurred with A, B, and C in organizations X, Y, and Z. These are three fine people, but their good efforts, all in harmony with good practice as seen by research methodologists and by agency officials, serve to confuse the project people, engage them in extensive re-planning efforts (usually unproductive) and jeopardize the whole investment. The intermediaries do not get blamed for the loss because they point to advice, which by the textbook and regulations, is not only sound but necessary. Yet they are a principal cause, I believe, in the ineffectiveness of bureaucratic programs of research. (PD, Y6)

In short, as the truism has it, individuals good and true may have honest disagreements. In a sense we are back to a political dilemma that has to be as old as government itself--what is the nature of the relationship between the central government and the individual citizen? Visions of Kurt Lewin's democratic, autocratic and laissez faire climates and leadership styles ran through our heads. It seems as though the FEDs were looking toward participatory democracy and the reviewer was valuing a responsible laissez faire position. Beyond this the conflict had a major complication on the nature of social science knowledge, in IAP and in the abstract. That, too, is a large and complicated issue. Even if we have oversimplified their positions the more basic point has been made, the interactional aspects of policy in action are linked to major belief systems, philosophical positions and differing interests. It seems an obvious point, but, unappreciated, at least by us, until we tried to understand our case. In our view too, these old friends of ours have yet to get the central issue on the table, they remain more distraught with each other, for the other's inability to understand. And what is our role as investigator in IAP, as professional colleagues of each, as warm friend of each, and as individuals with our own interests, research agendas, and points of view. In part, this report becomes one more piece in the ongoing interaction.

The Contextual Aspect

Part of the problem in an organizational unit's achieving an identity lies in the consideration of the contexts in which the unit lies. As we began to think our way through the meaning of this "obvious" point we were struck by a brief comment by Cartwright and Zander (1968) in their discussion of the formation of group goals.

> One important feature of established groups is that their members when engaged in group decision-making refer their evaluations of alternative goals for the group not only to their own desires but also to existing longer-range goals, objectives, or purposes of the group.
>
> In most established groups, decision-making has more the character of selecting subgoals that are subordinate to an existing goal than that of constructing group goals de novo. Unfortunately, almost no systematic research has been conducted on the ways in which superordinate goals influence the selection of subgoals in groups, and little is known about the ways in which these influences work. (p. 405)

Part of our work provides detailed case material toward filling that void. Early on, we thought that this context should be two-fold. An historical context, the past, seemed critical. The more we thought about the time dimension, that is, tried to see it in its more general aspects, the importance of the future, as well as history, arose. But, beyond the time context, there is an important set of part-whole relationships. In effect, IAP is one piece of FED's program of research and development, or conversely one part of IAP's context is the overall R & D program of FED. FED, however, is one unit within a larger Bureau of Education. In turn, this governmental unit is part of the larger Educational R & D community in the country. And so on.

The historical context, a concern for time lines, and process, change over time, has been a difficult problem for educational research and theory. That problem underlay the very titling of our project, Federal Policy in Action. When we were able to see the consequences of the FED's RFP and ARC's and GPC's activities as the "givens" under which IAP was to find itself severely constrained, we seemed to have a penetrating instance of this part of the theory. Conceptually, we are still not sure of the full reach of a "given," but to see IAP confronted with geographical dispersion, the need to meld a new organization from two separate organizations, and a particular participatory democratic ideological world view helped capture the problem of sequence and flow, chronology and process. In hindsight it seems terribly simple, yet, except for Lindblom and Allison, no one seemed to speak to it as much as we found it important in our case.

We have not spent much time on the fates of the FEDs, ARC, and GPC since the termination of IAP. Glimpses of ARC, especially, as it sought new funds, were presented in our narrative. The hiring of a white male Ph.D. type to write proposals was seen as a vivid recapitulation of one aspect of IAP. The impact of IAP on the programmatic and funding policies of the FEDs would be an important story in itself. What do they now do that's similar and different from before? In what ways have they changed? How would one judge this as better or worse? Similarly, one might ask for the consequences on GPC? What directions, what activities, and modes of approach characterize their current perspective? Finally, we saw some short-term consequences on individual participants, but what of the mid- to long-term aspects. In brief our conception of policy has a time perspective which stretches back into history and into the future.

The Systemic Aspect

For a number of years we have grappled with the social system concept.[1] It has seemed to have broad application in educational theory and practice. Our description and analysis of Federal Policy in Action suggests further use of the concept. Holism, interdependence, and openness become the key factors.

By holistic, we mean the conventional idea, that is, trying to see some modified totality of the phenomenon under study. We realize the ultimate impossibility of being alert to the infinity of parts and processes. And we realize that one's purposes help defining what levels of abstractness and specificity one looks for, finds, and talks about. Similarly, one's observations, theories, and purposes help define what is the case, the bounded system under investigation and what is context, both contemporaneous and historical. At the narrative level a story should exist which participants recognize as one of several important stories possible to extract from the experience. At the theoretical level concepts should concatenate into a pattern which maps large chunks of the intellectual domain. Or, if one is trying for a more propositional theory, the antecedents of one miniature theory should be appearing as the consequences of another until larger patterns begin to appear. Or, as we indicated earlier, that one eventually comes full circle with explanations of explanations.

System points are not isolated, independent or unattached. The interdependence aspect of systems accents the interconnection of parts. For a long time we've been enamoured of Simon's (1942) old story.

> There is a story to the effect that a statistician once found a very high correlation between the number of old maids and the size of the clover crop in different English counties. After puzzling over this relation for some time, he was able to trace what appeared to him to be the causal chain. Old maids, it appeared, kept cats; and cats ate mice. Field mice, however, were natural enemies of bumblebees, and these latter were, in turn, the chief agents in fertilizing the flowers of the clover plants. The implication, of course, is that the British Parliament should never legislate on the subject of marriage bonuses without first evaluating the effect upon the clover crop of reducing the spinster population. (p. 82)

A commonsense miniature theory, with what Zetterberg (1965) would call serial propositions can be pictorialized, as we indicate in Figure 11.8.

Insert Figure 11.8 about here

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[1] For example, see the section in Smith and Hudgins (1964) Educational Psychology on "The Classroom as a Social System" and Classroom social systems and teacher education" in Joyce and Weil (1972).

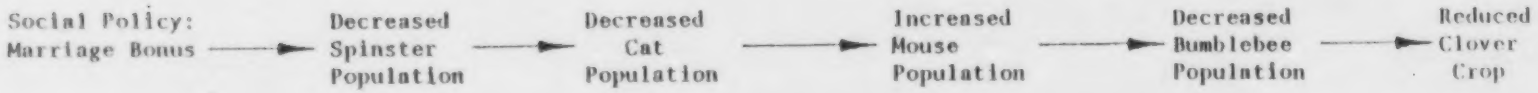
Social Policy:
Marriage Bonus
Decreased
Spinster
Population
Decreased
Cat
Population
Increased
Mouse
Population
Decreased
Bumblebee
Population
Reduced
Clover
Crop

Figure 11.8 Serial Prepositions Relating Social Policy to Agriculture Production

Also, over the years, we have been struck by Gouldner's (1961) views of the implication of a systemic analysis for the action oriented applied social scientist.

1. System models forewarn the applied social scientist of the possibility that a change in one part of the system may yield unforeseen and undesirable changes in another part of the system, due to the interdependence of its elements.
2. System models indicate that changes may be secured in one element, not only by a frontal attack upon it but also by a circumspect and indirect manipulation of more distantly removed variables. These, because of system interdependence, may ultimately produce the desired changes in the target variable.
3. ...system analysis therefore directs attention to the multiple possibilities of intervention with respect to a single problem.

Unanticipated consequences, alternative and multiple modes of intervention are simple ideas, perhaps more ignored than carefully attended to. To them we would add actions which have multiple positive consequences, that is, killing two birds with one stone. Also, the interactive or synergistic effects of a little push on separate variables producing a larger overall effect follows upon a systemic analysis. Finally, we believe that many initially perceived problems, barriers and constraints, when analyzed systemically came to be seen as opportunities and resources. Systemic thinking seems to play a large role in entrepremurial skill, "finagling," and creativity.

Throughout our description and analysis, the conception of IAP as an open system arose and made an integrative kind of sense of a number of loose ends. For instance, the initial development of the FED's point of view and IAP as a major activity struck us as an important creative initiative on the part of several members of the Federal Education Department. Our analysis of Emery and Trist's turbulent environment and Boguslaw's emergent situation seemed true for the FEDs in their world, for IAP in its world, and component subsystems and their world. An environment in flux is another way of describing a system open to its world. The importance of creativity within the system follows upon that. In addition, each of the units is evolving and changing, an open system, if you like. This implies a time dimension, T_1, T_2, T_3, ... T_n. Further, it implies that each unit--its context and its constituent elements are at best quasi stationary equilibria. For instance, the broad changing RD & D context can be seen clearly in the several statements by Guba and Clark (1968, 1974). The changing nature of governmental activity in education can be seen in such analyses of ESEA, OE, and NIE, by Baille and Mosher (1968), Dershimer (1976) and Sproull et al (1978). The evolving nature of IAP implies a relationship to the historical aspect of our contextual point of view.

Finally, the open system, because it is a social system involving individual persons, connotes elements of choice. In turn, this raises what has been a troublesome relationship between causes and effects, ifs and thens, or antecedents and consequences. Stenhouse (1967) has been most helpful to us:

> Culture provides the disciplined and ordered experience without which freedom and creativity can only be pathetically rudimentary. It is the framework of creative innovation.
>
> It appears, then, that personal creative responses intrude into the cultural world of the social group. They are innovations, inexplicable in terms of the group. Individuals in free and purposeful action can produce original ideas which are dependent upon culture but are not determined by it. People are moulded in a culture yet reach an independence. When this happens, culture begins to serve as a medium which the individual handles actively in creation.
>
> One apparent foundation for the intrusion of the individual into the social as a free agent and a cause is man's capacity for selective attention. We are able to concentrate...
>
> Now, the important thing about this attention is that it is purposive, that is to say, it is influenced, not by causes in the past, but by estimates of the future. This capacity to look towards the future is fundamental to the idea of individual autonomy...
>
> Such future-oriented behaviour may be cultural, depending on what we have called an interpretation, but it may also be original and personal. And it will tend to become more and more individual as it becomes more and more reflective and speculative.
>
> Thus, individual autonomy appears to rest upon the capacity for selective attention and the ability to orientate one's behaviour towards possibilities and the future.
>
> Selective attention and an orientation towards the future form a basis for individual purpose, which breaks the network of cause in a way that can only be explained teleologically. We must use "in order that" rather than "because of" when we come to discuss purposeful behaviour. (pp. 26-27)

In essence, when social systems are perceived as open, that is involving individual choice and purpose, major implications follow in the very language one uses and in the metatheoretical perspective one uses as context. IAP, from start to finish, seemed congruent with such a broad interpretation.

4. CONCLUDING THE CONCLUSION

In the most general and abstract fashion we have moved toward a perspective we have called Interactional/Contextual/Systemic. Anything less seems to do injustice to our case. We believe it captures the best of a number of related positions. To restate briefly, federal policy in action must concern itself with complex interdependent-open systems which have a context both historical and contemporaneous, and which have an interactional or political quality generating conflict, change, and evolution. We believe that such a view has implications for research styles used to investigate other aspects of policy in action. The fit among purposes, problem, theory, strategies and tactics of investigation demands the best of one's creativity. Some of these implications we trace in detail as in the Appendix to this monograph as we report and comment upon our own research procedures.

Finally, we are strongly committed, at a meta theoretical level, to a pragmatic criterion of the quality of theory. That is, a first priority of theory should be its help in identifying, framing and solving new problems. We believe we have learned some important things from our study of IAP. Therefore, and also in the Appendix, we turn our attention to a proposal and problem posed by a colleague. We try to give a systemic, interactional and contextual look at his particularistic concerns for improving urban education. That kind of next step seems an appropriate conclusion.

Section V

APPENDICES

Overview of Section V

In this section, we have tried to capitalize on an unusual opportunity. A colleague who knew of our work in IAP asked us to respond to a short urban education proposal he had just written. As we read it, it seemed to parallel much of IAP. Without too much distortion of it and IAP it seemed to be a vehicle to talk about much of what we had learned. Our reasoning follows upon our cumulating theory of educational action. In social affairs, of which educational affairs is but an instance, scientific findings and theory lose a substantial portion of their meaning when they are abstracted from a particular time and place. Implicit values and assumptions critical for social action are often not recognized or acknowledged. Other elements in individual perspectives provide connotations. Concepts carry different meanings for both intimate actors and more detached observers.

Further, on the positive side, may be a set of rationalized biases. In our own professional and personal lives we have always been taken aback or turned off by people who have quick advice or homilies which purport to solve problems which we feel we cannot even define. It is neither that we want to complexify phenomena forever nor that we doubt the potency of insightful redefinition of problems, analytic cuts into problems, or hypothesized solutions. Rather we want all these things. We think we find that in patient probing and exchanges on vivid concrete illustrations where one brings one's best thinking to bear.

On the debit side, an already long report is made longer. An already complicated project is made more complicated by juxtaposing it to another complex project.

Finally, as usual, we have written a long methodological appendix. The collegial, peer aspect of this project was so important that it moved us into and highlighted a number of areas, a number of problems, and a number of ideas which we had not faced so vividly before. Since much of it seems relevant to methodological discussions far beyond IAP we have written it in "stand alone" fashion. In an important sense, it rounds out the story and analysis of IAP by confronting centrally, our involvement as participants, observers, and researchers.

Appendix I

On What Was Learned in IAP:
A Commentary on a Related Proposal

INTRODUCTION

In our view, the making of recommendations is both a more difficult task than is usually perceived by educators and a more underanalyzed task than is usually entertained by educators. While we were carrying out the FPA study, one of our colleagues, Bill Harper[1], who knew about IAP and our study asked us to comment upon a project proposal he was developing. The parallels of his work to our study looked close upon a first reading. His initial note, which we have reproduced as Figure I.1, asks, among other questions;

> First, given what you have learned on your IAP project and other ventures, how would you critique my change strategy?

He thought our experience might be relevant. During the first reading, we made marginal notes of references, ideas, illustrations. As these grew, the idea of a fuller, more elaborated critique and discussion arose. We conferred, raised a series of problems, concerns, and possibilities. These were discussed, recorded, and developed. This chapter is the result. We think it is a novel and potentially important way to present generalizations in the form of recommendations.

Insert Figure I.1 about here

One weakness it may have occurs in our multiple purposes: 1) saying something particular to Harper's proposal; 2) drawing upon more general literature for that; and 3) trying to summarize items from IAP in particular in order to stay within the boundaries and scope of Federal Policy in Action. That can leave us a bit fragmented like an incomplete mosaic on the one hand and a bit lumpy, like partially stirred oatmeal or cream of wheat on the other hand. So be it.

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[1] Harper is a bright, well trained social action-oriented social scientist and educator. He's several years out of his Ph.D. He has taught, been in VISTA for a couple of years, and done group process and O.D. consulting.

10/2/78

Lou,

Attached is the proposal I've been working on for the past five months. Although apprehensive until I have a written contract in hand, everyone says it's go. In terms of the proposal the text is cast in stone. However, I want your help, counsel in two ways.

First, given what you've learned on your IAP project and other ventures, how would you critique my change strategy? Where does it miss its mark, what will it trip over and what are its strengths? Also, what do I need to read and to whom should I talk?

Secondly, can you give me ideas about researching the project? I'm particularly interested in examining the change strategy and my part as an actor in it. Presently, I need a methodology to tease out which factors (me, strategy, superintendents' will, God, etc.) were instrumental in "causing" what changes. What thoughts, authors, methodologies, case studies, etc. will sharpen my thinking?

The proposal, as will be the project, is a blend of a reconceptualized problem statement, a strategy to meet that challenge, and a political posture that is acceptable to the administration, Board of Education, funding agency, and insiders who will be swept-up in the activity. I suspect this mixture of truth, guise, and marketing will doggedly carousel throughout the project as I press for people and divisions to commit themselves to designing "the best way" they can improve learning.

Therefore, the question becomes: if successful, will my research/evaluation design satisfactorily unravel, reveal relations among factors that will add to our understanding of change in large institutions. An ambitious, ambiguous plight, but one I believe in and want to pursue.

Harper

Figure I.1 Letter Accompanying Harper's Proposal

THE PROPOSAL

One of the interesting problems of consulting, commenting and recommending is that the phenomenon doesn't stand still. Under its own dynamics it is evolving and changing. From the time we received a draft on 10/2 made the initial observation to give it a try and then conferred about the try (10/16), a partially new draft had appeared. Inserted is this preliminary draft, in toto as written by Bill Harper.

Proposal

The Strengthening of "Big City" Public School Linkages With Local Public, Private, and Quasi-Public Institutions to Enhance Desegregation

The Problem[1]

Big City, like many other cities, is confronted with implementing a desegregation plan in an effort to achieve racial balance. The system is presently transferring faculty/staff and in the foreseeable future may be transporting students. Given this issue's immediate press, it's tempting to focus specifically on narrow solutions that only reflect the logistical, security, and human relations aspects of such an effort. These dimensions are real, tangible and, most important, omnipresent, particularly if viewed in the short run. The safety of our children, the efficient transporting of students, supplies and material, the equitable transfer of staff and the development of our faculty's capacity to work in varied settings are paramount to the system and its clients. Unless these activities are successful, a school system cannot implement a healthy, productive desegregation plan. Responses to these needs will form the foundation for the additional educational and life opportunity gains which in essence should be the heart of most desegregation efforts.

However, to concentrate on desegregation qua desegregation activities per se may be a mistake. The implementation of desegregation plans does not happen in a vacuum; they are inextricably interwoven with a host of issues that threaten the stability and potential productivity of most urban school systems like Big City. As has been stated all too frequently over the past decade, an entangled web of issues (shrinking tax bases, declining enrollment, aging buildings, civil rights, unemployment, etc.) have beset our city school systems, sapping their previous capacity to act as "lighthouse districts" that the rest of the country could emulate. Not until "the problem of desegregation implementation" is cast in this broader context will schools be successful in providing more equal life chances for our young people. Desegregation efforts aimed at improving educational activities must be conceptualized as a set of activities, just one set in a constellation of other coordinated sets, designed to develop the school system and its personnel so they can more effectively meet the new urban challenges. Unless the desegregation activities articulate with other developmental efforts and lead to the more common over-arching goal of quality education, schools run the risk of creating a superbly "successful" machine that transports our children nowhere (educationally speaking). Therefore, desegregation efforts should be developed in a broader context; one that leads to learning outcomes that make the city's offspring competitive with their "metro" peers.

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[1] The problem does not refer to desegregation per se as this is the social end; the striving of a society to provide equal opportunities for its citizens. The problem is smoothly implementing a plan that enhances the education of our city's children.

Does this mean the city schools are educationally bankrupt and can't get the job done? No! Rather it means the city schools are wrestling with a disproportionate share of society's complex issues that demand a different approach, an approach that is just beginning to be articulated. As declining tax bases, parent's rights, student rights, collective discussions (bargaining), civil rights, declining enrollment, etc. have redirected and diffused our educational efforts, the need for a new managerial process has emerged; one that can contend with multiple demands, including the implementation of desegregation plans, in some coordinated fashion. In essence, the utility of a broader conceptualization is evident in other cities' desegregation efforts. While Boston and Louisville experienced considerable trauma, others such as Dallas visualized desegregation as a catalytic agent to overhaul their sagging educational stock. In fact, even Boston, where there was such resistance, advanced smoothly in most areas once the system shifted its emphasis from desegregation to what's the best way to educate our students, now that we are desegregated.

Again, the results indicate that any effort designed to enhance the implementation of desegregation plans must take into consideration the other urban problems and focus on the meta-goal of improving instruction. Therefore, outside assistance, whether designed to facilitate desegregation efforts or any other issue, should be compatible with the system's other developmental programs, as well as help establish the "new managerial process" being instituted by today's successful urban administrators.

Proposed Framework

Human Resource Development (HRD)

Other institutions, some private and some public, have turned to a systemwide development approach, frequently referred to as Human Resource Development or HRD, to meet the multiple demands made upon them by their clients, the community and by new technology. This strategy has provided the framework for directing their developmental activities designed to increase the system's capacity to manage today's urban issues in a way that is compatible with the delivery of educational services. More specifically, this process (HRD) determines what specific outcomes job positions are trying to attain, a strategy to attain them, an appraisal system to monitor their attainment, and a compensation system that rewards it. In combination, the process encourages teachers and managers to direct their energy to the most important issues: those identified as critical to the school system's improvement and survival. It protects personnel from expending energy on less important tasks which benefit neither the system nor the individual's career. As points of ambiguity are clarified, teachers and administrators can exercise their talent in more productive areas. Although the approach seems similar to M.B.O., P.P.B.S., and other very mechanical systems, it is more flexible and can bypass their pitfalls. Presently such firms as Monsanto, Mallinckrodt, and Wetterau are at different stages of implementing such a program, and may be of assistance in thinking through its joys and pitfalls.

In addition to its "focusing" effect, this approach has other facets as (1) it tries to identify and design proper career sequencing and training for the most competent, "promotable talent" (teachers and principals); (2) it provides career planning for individuals not making it or who are vulnerable due to shrinking enrollment; and (3) it detects shifts in future staffing patterns. These components complement Human Resource Development's major mission of honing in and rewarding individuals and work groups for attaining desired outcomes.

When applying these (HRD) notions to schools, three natural components emerge as essential to supporting this general thrust: instructional development, organizational development, and managerial development (Figure 1).

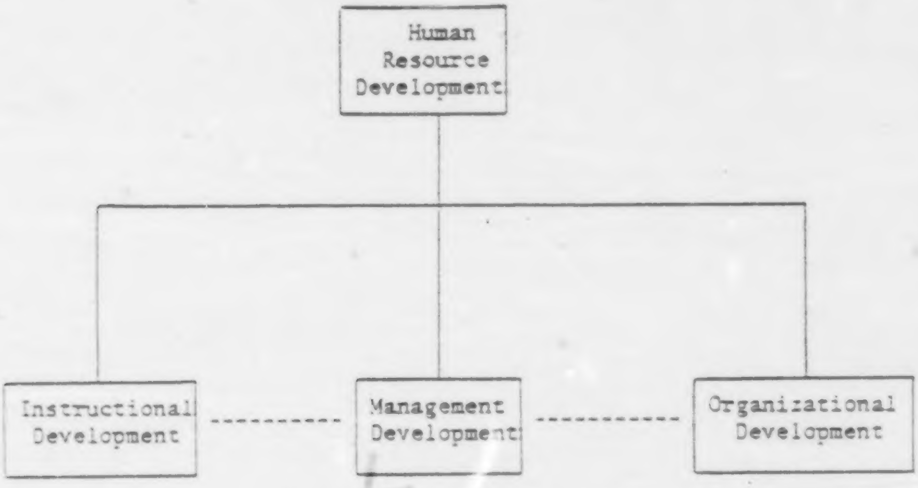
Human Resource Development
Instructional Development
Management Development
Organizational Development

Figure 1

Instructional Development

Across the nation different cities, metropolitan areas and states have pioneered different structures to aid instructional development activities. Boston has instituted a productive network in which universities both directly and indirectly assist schools in a broad range of activities. University teams, depending on the identified strength of the university (M.I.T. - aerospace technology, Brandeis - performing arts, Boston College - reading, Boston University - special ed) and the needs of different schools, have been matched with individual schools, with all schools within particular geographical districts, or with clusters that cut across administrative and geographical boundaries. The business community, rather than the universities, took the lead in Dallas. They have linked with specialized schools, such as a business and office practices high school, in which they have expertise. In other communities such as Chicago, Los Angeles and Cleveland the fine and performing arts interests have aggressively developed instructional programs. Common among most of these models, whether to enhance English composition, office procedures, drama, commercial arts, music, aerospace technology, trades, merchandising, commerce or retailing, is the attempt to link schools with local universities, corporations, public institutions, governmental agencies, and non-profit organizations in an effort to establish coalitions that benefit all parties involved. These different arrangements, particularly Boston and Dallas, need to be examined in terms of their transferrability to Big City.

Organizational Development

A second component, organizational development methodologies suitable for the individual schools, is another major area in which outsiders could help. The Issues Seminar has and should continue to do an excellent job at developing the system by opening it up, by forcing careful self-examination, and by analyzing the school system's relationship to other educational and community institutions. However, this process has focused primarily at system-wide concerns, not specific building or divisional units. Undoubtedly university personnel interested in desegregation and quality education can identify other techniques such as survey feedback designs that would facilitate teachers, staff members, and administrators (1) to examine their building's operations (instruction, teacher morale, student enthusiasm, community relations, patterns of enthusiasm, etc.), (2) to decide what needs to be changed, and (3) to devise a systematic approach to do it. Now that a mechanism (Issues Seminar) is in place to look at the "district" as an organization, we need to assist interested principals and divisonal heads in developing their own units organizationally; particularly given the new thrust towards decentralization.

Managerial Development

In addition to organization development, individual managers, whether building administrators, cabinet members, parents, or central office staff, need access to specific management training in budgeting, interviewing, conflict resolution, community relations, etc. The delegation of additonal authority and functions to principals and others under decentralization will stimulate requests for these types of assistance. To date the "one shot deals" have had minimal impact; formats that link these skills to the realities of Big City's system are needed. Guidance and assistance by university and corporate personnel could help in exploring the possibilities. For example, Monsanto, Maritz, General Motors, and the Philadelphia school district have instituted in-house management academies to provide this function. A closely related alternative is assessment centers designed to measure existing skill levels for promotion, evaluation and in-service purposes. These broader approaches, as well as particular content areas such as stress management, motivation, etc., could be probed with local institutions.

Linkages With Other Institutions

The linkages between the school system and local universities, public institutions, municipal governments, and corporations is seen as an integral part of the program. In the past, for a host of reasons, schools' systems have shied away from close involvement with outside institutions. However, today's realities suggest that this is no longer feasible. The different sectors (private, public, and volunteer) are too closely intertwined to act as separate entities. For example, continuance of Big City's recent residential resurgence depends directly on the capacity of our schools to attract black and white middle class parents with school age children. The pool of single and childless couples is not inexhaustible. Likewise, industry and public institutions such as libraries, museums, and institutes need an educated public either to man their sophisticated job positions or to utilize their services. In short the economic, social, and cultural viability of the city more than ever relies on a healthy coalition among all these partners.

While Boston, Dallas, and Los Angeles have made commendable strides, this project envisions a coordinated effort to include many sectors simultaneously across a broader range of activities. Its uniqueness stems from the solid resource pool generated by the networking among private, public, governmental and university group and from these sectors' involvement in areas besides instruction. There is little question that both private and public sectors have skills in the personnel, managerial and organizational areas that can assist the school district.

Summary

This umbrella approach (Human Resource Development linked with instructional development, organizational development and management development) is broader than the university-corporate school system liaisons in Boston, Dallas and other cities. However, we are convinced that Big City needs a broad based approach if it is to capitalize on desegregation, tax rollbacks (California Proposition 13), declining enrollment, rigid labor stances, and presses for basic competencies. The delivery of services at the classroom level, in and by itself, isn't enough. It must be embedded in a broader organization design that not only permits but nurtures the development of instruction.

Although the four components are presented as separate entities, they need to be closely articulated under the Human Resource Development concept. The instructional services, organizational development, and management development are developmental activities that assist the attainment of the desired outcomes. Without that results-oriented umbrella, the other components wander and become independent units that frequently detract from more important goals.

Activities

The proposed activities are an outgrowth of the conceptual design and take into account the need for visible positive actions that will enhance the drawing power of the city school system. First, existing and potential linkages between local universities, public institutions, governmental agencies and corporations will be inventoried. By the careful sorting and matching of complementary needs and resources, the school system will have a clearer idea of what short and long run relationships can be developed with whom.

With a clearer understanding of what institutions could lend assistance to what developmental components (instructional programs, HRD, organizational development, or management development), a comprehensive, 3 year plan will emerge. Naturally, because of the press for immediate successes, the first 6 months, starting January 1979, will be devoted to developing linkages in the instructional component. Universities, museums, historical societies, and corporations with strength in particular instructional areas, will be linked to the appropriate school or program by the fall of 1979.

As these relations firm, attention will then focus on the HRD component and then later on the organizational and management development components. The implementation of the HRD component, which is by far both the most complex and potentially rewarding, will vary from the instructional one. Because its utility, form and shape are partially unknown in the educational arena, direct assistance efforts are inappropriate. Rather, meetings, visits, and forums, which include persons with varying degrees of experience from the private, public, quasi-public sectors, will explore, debate and test existing and hypothetical HRD programs with "the Big City staff."

As the school system's personnel identify what approaches and parts of approaches make sense in Big City, firmer linkage with the appropriate institutions will be developed to aid in planning and implementation. The first year would essentially be a sifting process in which the school system and the HRD concept would mutually adapt in an attempt to find a productive configuration. The second year would delineate more clearly what a HRD program would look like in Big City.

Because the HRD component indirectly outlines the needed, organizational and managerial activities, no concentrated effort to establish these components will take place until the second year. Although most of these components' activities will be held in abeyance at first, the identification of local and national sources are essential the first year to ready the system for future developments.

Because both of these steps, the linking with local institutions and the emergence of an HRD program that focuses on assessment, development and reward rely heavily on the examination and synthesis of other operating programs both within and outside the metropolitan area, considerable time and resources need to be devoted to these activities. To successfully implement such a massive concept key individuals from personnel, evaluation, operations, program development, finance, and central administration need to experience and critically evaluate these on-going projects in person. In addition, consultants from these sites need to visit Big City to discuss possible ways their models could be adapted to Big City and to answer questions from a cross-section of employees whose operations would be impacted. Although this strategy is expensive, past experience clearly indicates that a careful analysis of proposed changes from various perspectives within the organization is necessary to developing a system that is acceptable to key figures in the district. Although the organizational and managerial development may not demand as much travel, the consultation cost could easily be more.

Director's Major Functions

1. To identify local and national sources that could assist the Big City Public Schools in the four component areas (instructional, HRD, organizational development and managerial development).
2. To establish the linkages between the school and local institutions in the instructional area the first year.
3. To explore the feasibility of an HRD system in Big City at the end of the first year.
4. To plan and partially implement an HRD program if feasible.
5. To explore and plan organizational and management development components at the end of second year.
6. To develop proposals to support the above activities.
7. To act as a link between private/quasi-public institutions and the city schools.

Project's Organizational Relationship to Sets of Organization Relationship to School System

Because of the Project's scope, the Director will work closely with individuals in many different departments and divisions. The nature of those relationships will vary considerably depending on the particular circumstances. That means at times the Director will act as a consultant, a convener of meetings, a catalyst and as a coordinator of the different developmental activities.

Although the everyday role is a bit ambiguous, the charge to direct a coordinated effort in conjunction with outside agencies in the areas of instructional, managerial and organizational development is clear. The following clearly outlines the structural arrangements to implement that end.

1. The Project Director will report directly to the Superintendent.
2. The Superintendent will establish the importance of the Project and the Director's position at a series of meetings with internal personnel, civic groups, business associations and universities. At that time he will outline the Project's objectives, its importance to the System and the Director's authority to carry out that charge.
3. The Director and Superintendent will meet bi-weekly to discuss work to date, difficulties encountered, requests for assistance, research findings and recommendations.

4. The Project will operate as a special fund under the control of the Director. He will approve and be responsible for all expenditures including supplies, equipment, travel and consultants.
5. The Director and the Superintendent will present the Project's newly formulated developmental components to the Board of Education for their approval.

Relationship to The Foundation

The Project will meet regularly with The Foundation to appraise them of recent developments, to discuss networking with other metropolitan initiatives, and to seek counsel about national programs that need to be examined. Other organizational arrangements are:

1. Although the Project's life span is 2 1/2 years, the funding will be on a 1 year renewable basis subject to annual review.
2. The Superintendent, Director and representatives from The Foundation will meet quarterly to discuss the progress to date, problems encountered, projected work schedules, and strategies to overcome persistent barriers.

Relationship to Other Organizations

1. Throughout the Big City community a number of institutions and projects such as Civic Progress' DDM, the community schools programs, family parent education, ad hoc committees interested in quality education, clerical coalitions interested in family/school relations, the Issues Seminars, Citizens Educational Task Force, and groups of residential redevelopers have expressed an interest in assisting education. This Project will actively coordinate with these ongoing efforts to strengthen the networking among individuals who are ready to support the schools. They are active agents, resource pools with many common goals that we recognize as partners in developing the school's capacity to educate its children.
2. Because municipal governments realize that recent and future residential resurgence is tied closely to quality public education, this Project is anxious to collaborate with city bodies like the Aldermanic Board and others who can foresee constructive ways to link schools, municipal activities, and residential redevelopment plans. Although the specifics are not clear, this general concept is pregnant with a number of possibilities that are consistent with the general thrust of the proposal.

Evaluation

The program evaluation will focus on the following.

1. Networking

   - The degree to which private, public, governmental, and volunteer linking with schools, programs, and support functions has increased over the life of the project.

- The degree to which both parties are satisfied with their joint projects.

- The methodology for this component is straight-forward and would include a count of linkages and a sampling survey of attitudes.

2. Human Resource Development

- The extent to which a system has developed that encourages the specification of job outcomes, a strategy to obtain them, an appraisal system to monitor their attainment, and a compensation system that rewards it.

- The extent that private, public, governmental and volunteer sector aid in this process.

- An assessment of how the Director has orchestrated the above activities.

- The methodology would be a mix of enumeration and more subjective unstructured interview/observation a la Scriven and Kunkel.

3. Organizational and Managerial Development

- The extent to which these components have developed.

- The methodology would be a mix of enumeration and more subjective approaches.

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SOME REACTIONS FROM IAP

Our reactions fall into four major categories: issues in the proposal per se, additional thoughts from the discussion, fragments toward some alternatives in field research, and finally, a discussion on the responsible agent. The writing seems to flow outward from an initial immediate concern with Harper's proposal to an increased concern with IAP and finally to a wider concern regarding the facilitation of policy making.

The Harper Proposal Per Se

Issues in the Problem Statement

Levels of Program Implementation: The first few paragraphs of Harper's proposal raise the issue of levels of the system at which innovation might take place. The best conceptualization we have seen of this is the Charters and Jones (1973) account. "On the risk of appraising non events in program evaluation." They ask, is the program at the level of (1) institutional commitment; (2) structural context; (3) staff role performance; (4) student activities; or (5) student outcomes. We concur with Charters and Jones that all levels are important, that the several-step causal relationships among levels are difficult conceptual, empirical and practical problems, and that one needs to specify carefully where one's focus is. For us, IAP was a complex mixture of ideological emphasis, changes in various structural arrangements (in the 10 settings) and so on through some concerns for pupil achievement gains. Clarity was never achieved on the phrasing of focal levels much less agreements on which level to attack at which time and place. Harper could have similar problems.

Conflicts and Contradictions in Approaches to Desegregation: Perhaps its a truism to state that nobody agrees about desegregation and that many people, including the FEDs espouse internally contradictory policies. One of IAP's major consultative assistance efforts was decimated by the desegregation moves which transferred a number of the core teachers out of the school where the program was and brought in new teachers. The school faculty as a functioning system had to be rebuilt. IAP was only a small priority in a much larger set.

We found little talk, clarity and agreement in IAP about the more fundamental value conflicts running through the issues and programs in desegregation and integration. For instance, Fein's little book on *The Ecology of the School* speaks more clearly to the latent conflict between fraternity and freedom in the community school movement than anything we saw in IAP. Rokeach (1975) speaks to behavioral differences of individuals whose priority is equality over freedome or conversely whose priority is freedom over equality. Our guess, Harper, is that you will run into the same phenomenon in Big City and you will need to have your own position more clearly worked out than the proposal seems to imply.

Whose Broader Theory as Context?: Whenever we hear pleas for a broader or more theoretical context we have come to ask, "Who's theory?" We don't believe that this is an appeal to authority, although there may be elements of that in it. Rather it is part of an overall strategy for clarity of concepts, implicit if not explicit propositions, and some kind of metatheoretical or metaphorical consistency in overall perspective. Alternatively a rigorous eclecticism demands that one gets one's concepts out front with clear verbal definitions and specific indicators and examples if not operational definitions. The working conceptual tools which are to be used to cut through the complexities of educational settings, structures, and processes must be partially at hand initially and be evolving with the practical work undertaken.

For instance, the comment, "Not until 'the problem of desegregation implementation' is cast in the broader context will schools be successful in providing more equal life chances for young people," can raise a variety of theoretical issues. The concept "implementation" cued the name "Gross" and his important study of Cambire School (1971) and his recent paper "Theoretical and policy implications of case study findings about Federal efforts to improve public schools" (1977).[2] In the latter paper, he's generalizing and extending many of the findings specific to the Cambire Schools with cases from the Experimental School program. Among the half dozen "impediments to organizational change efforts" is "failure to anticipate or resolve implementation problems." He continues his attack on the middle range or miniature "Overcoming Resistance to Change" theory. He concludes with a half dozen policy recommendations; many of which parallel our general analysis, but several of which seem miscast in in terms of our specific FTA case.[3] Such should be the continued bearing of empirical research on social theory. Similarly Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) present a major analysis of implementation problems in the public sphere. How are the logistics to be handled?

Policy Implementation: The discussion of "implementation" and especially "the new managerial process" begs for specificity and concreteness. Again these are horns of dilemmas. Most reviewers of IAP didn't see anything especially new or exciting in the consultative assistant efforts carried out in Far Western City and Central City. On the other hand neither the IAP case studies, nor the accounts of the consultative efforts clearly address the intersection of large city school districts formal and informal systems as these have been analyzed by Ortiz (1978), Griffiths et al (1963) and Gittell et al (1973). The machinations of the central office staff (COS), the GASing process, the interlocking career channels coaching schools, and evaluation groups, and the legal status of union contracts are events of incredible potency.

The Proposed Framework

The Alternative of Grandeur: Most reformers seem to see the shadows of "evil" in large and compelling images. As they get ready to go on crusades, to borrow Klapp's (1969) label, they construct change strategies and plans which we have labeled "the alternatives of grandeur," something big enough and potent enough to correct the perceived problems (Smith and Keith, 1972). We saw this in the Milford School District and the Kensington School. We believe it occurred in IAP. In both instances it had disabling consequences for the projects as a whole. Etzioni has offered a gradualist strategy as an alternative.

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[2] This paper first came to our attention in one of our interviews with the FEDs. Later, Professor Robert Herriott suggested it as one of several growing out of the Rural Schools Project.

[3] This discussion appears in Chapter Eleven.

One of our current biases is to sidestep the two option or two alternative approaches to problems and try to invent third or fourth ways of looking. In this area, we believe it is important to have a rough approximation, a flexible map of the grand design that can be expressed at any point in time. It is also important to have, at a concrete specific level, a gradualist, step by step, item by item, mechanism by mechanism, plan of procedures. If we built a two by two matrix with a hi/lo split we're arguing for the hi/hi cell. We haven't searched the literature to see whether the classical bureaucrat tends to emphasize the one and the classical reformer the other. Seems like a worthy next step. In the Harper proposal we see more of the grand design than the mechanics. Maybe that's what's needed to convince funding agencies. Then again, maybe our advice should be to them, a demand for specificity.

Transferability: The comment,

> These different arrangements, particularly Boston and Dallas, need to be examined in terms of their transferability (p. 6).

struck us as very important, possibly more important than your specification gave it. Our marginal reaction was

> This is the heart of IAP. It's an s.o.b. of a task.

In a sense, our whole Federal Policy in Action document speaks directly or indirectly to that issue. Conceptually and practically you'll have to wrestle with it continuously. An interesting literature continues to grow in this area. Recently we've been struck by Rein and Schön's (1977) reconstrual using the concept of problem setting.

Organizational Development: IAP explodes with implications for Harper's discussion of organizational development. He says that this "...is another major area in which outsiders could help." Each of the case studies in the ten sites speaks to the complications in so easy a statement. IAP, as an organization had advisors, consultants, and facilitators doing varied tasks at every level of the organization, to little avail. Or at least not helping enough that it survived as a project. Further, many of the IAP staff were themselves experts in group process. Finally, we are perhaps overly sensitive to the label "decentralization." One of the strong substantive findings of IAP, in accord with some of Gittell's and Fein's (1971) early work is that decentralization as it links with parent and community participation and involvement means very different things to different people and those meanings carry very different implications for school events. When you decentralize and parent boards want or have power to select and fire staff, for instance, this is different from having more parents come to the PTA meetings. And the latter is different from having parents as aides in the classroom and now able to informally monitor the activities of teachers as well as helping children. The most general point we are making is that many platforms of reform need to attend to such key concepts as meanings, values and power. Latently the platforms may imply items one may not want or items which are in conflict.

The Training Gambit: In speaking of managerial development,

> ...need access to specific management training in budgeting, interviewing, conflict resolution, community relations, etc. (p. 7).

Our immediate reaction was, "These are listed so easily but are so difficult to carry out." IAP's efforts at internal staff development suggest that the process is difficult, slow, and demanding of considerable resources of time, energy, and talent. It raised in our minds the "need for a judicious" blend of selection as well as training, for past experience and demonstrated competence, and the ratio of novel initiatives to established routines.

Personnel: The proposal speaks minimally to personnel both central core staff and the "outsider-experts" who will do most of the training and development work. The notion of Harper the director as "broker" between school needs and community people in government, business, industry and the universities came up in the discussions. Our general experience with short term consultants has been highly varied--some quite valuable, others a waste of time. IAP's experience was that of high utilization and dependence but not significant enough to solve IAP's problems. The critical issue seems to be some analysis of tasks which can be handled effectively by short term temporary people and tasks which cannot be so handled. We don't know if such a general analysis exists. Harper's proposal does not provide a specific list relevant to his three major thrusts in instruction, management, and organization. In addition, developing an array of individuals matched for those tasks is incredibly difficult at a local, regional and/or national level. Making judgments within those sets of which people can actually do the job poses additional problems. IAP in the eyes of number of people increased its internal problems substantially through "miscasting," a "good" person in the "wrong" role.

Linkages: "The linkages between the school system and local universities, public institutions, municipal governments, and corporations is seen as an integral part of the program." From our IAP experience comes our comment, "High costs in money, time, energy, and coordination." Linkage or articulation was a major task on IAP's agenda. Internally, IAP became an object lesson on the difficulties of putting things together, of linking, of articulating. The key themes in our analysis from initial policy formulation, the givens, ideology, conflict, management and coordination all speak to the realities of organizational development. Externally,

> There is little question that both the private and public sectors have skills in the personnel, managerial and organizational areas that can assist the school district

IAP couldn't find them easily, couldn't use them well, or they didn't have the talents they were supposed to have. As we think of our own experience in several college and university departments and in several public school systems and the great difficulty in achieving cooperative participation by people who already perceive themselves as too busy, we are left with a skepticism at least to the presumed ease in the Harper proposal.

The Facade: One of the most difficult issues in transferability comes to mind in reading your sentence,

> While Boston, Dallas, and Los Angeles have made commendable strides, this project envisions a coordinated effort to include many sectors simultaneously across a broader range of activities (p. 9).

This is the facade phenomenon. We saw it first at Kensington and we believe it was a major item in IAP. Simply put, organizations present various images to their various publics. Some of those images may have very little relationship to what actually goes on in those organizations. This raises questions as to how you know what is going on in those school districts--their reports, newspaper or magazine accounts, formal social science investigations, and so forth. In IAP, the FEDs identified ten settings where they thought exciting innovative organizational change activities were in process. The field researchers, and many of IAP's administrative staff were later to question whether anything exciting was "really" happening. This was an important and continuing point of contention. A concluding paragraph from Anatomy captures still our basic concern:

> Finally, we think the facade concept is most important. The organizational face presented to the public--especially in popular newspapers and magazines--did not reflect the reality of the school. These discrepancies have led us toward skepticism and caution with respect to any "feature" story about educational matters. Administrators who seriously try to keep up with the Jones District--or its facade--seem to be creating a new kind of problem while they are attempting to solve the original one (1972, p. 53).

Activities

The discussion of activities specifies a bit more concretely three or four aspects of the proposal. Several further experiences come to mind from IAP and other projects.

Time Lines: They seem too short. In six months the instructional linkages are supposed to be set up. Need assessments and resource inventories will be made. Contacts in the school district at large, the decentralized subdistricts, the individual schools, and then with individual teachers and subgroups of teachers. Similarly contacts must be established among some cluster of "themselves, public institutions, governmental agencies, and corporations." The array of interviews, discussions, negotiations and agreements to be sought seems overwhelming in such a short period of time. Obviously, one's prior knowledge of the community and reservoir of credits is very critical. In the second year, it is almost assumed that the established instructional program will run itself and that the organizational and managerial tasks can be undertaken. Many of these come from all over the country--Los Angeles, Boston, Dallas, etc. At this point time lines intersect with the very important geographical dispersal phenomenon. The proposed time line might better be construed as one weakly established, intersecting with time flows of each of the external contacts which are established and have considerable momentum. Early intersection can then be perceived as a hurdle to be crossed that will inevitably slow the organization's progress over time. Conscious regard of the sheer number of contacts or hurdles might result then in a more realistic time sense.

Staffing: The ratio of organizational tasks to staff to time seems to present a problem throughout the proposal. The start up costs, "take off" to use one of Etzioni's labels, is very great. Most administrators underestimate these. IAP was no exception. Harper seems also to be among those who might be caught by this lack of understanding.

Administrative/Service Roles Drive Out Inquiry Roles: One doesn't talk very long with central administrators of IAP or with many of the consultative assistance staff before the truth of Lazarsfeld and Sieber's (1964) generalization about educational research and service bureaus comes to mind. Service activities have not only an insatiable appetite for resources but also have a way of demanding first priority. Somehow one is never finished with getting the job initiated, coordinated and actualized. Reflection, inquiry, writing, of any extended sort, never quite receives the time and attention one thinks "they should." Splitting off that task to an independent agency or individual has some major benefits. Bureaus of instructional research are important semi-independent compromise alternatives. Joint collaborative efforts are another. Administrators who think they will be able to do both, either kid themselves or let other things slide.[*] Facing up to that issue was a very difficult lesson in IAP. It looks to repeat itself in Harper's proposal.

Evaluation: Shortly, we will formally address lessons about inquiry processes. Our first round comment to Harper was:

> Lots of ideas here. They're expensive, issues of independence in formative and summative evaluations, resources, multi methods, kinds of people, etc.

Additional Thoughts From the Discussion

We spent several hours in an intensive discussion with Harper. The focus was on the proposal, on the latent and subtle political, conceptual, and practical problems which were in his head, and the bearing of IAP on some of these.

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[*] There are a few notable exceptions--Chester Barnard of a generation ago; John Goodlad more recently.

The Politics of Vagueness of Proposals

Shortly we will have some things to say about the need for certain kinds of precision in statements in proposals. One of the most interesting aspects of our discussion with Harper concerns the politics of vagueness of end products in research proposals to private foundations. Much of this appears in Figure I.2.

Insert Figure I.2 about here

Harper raised clearly a number of items in his head as he spoke of the vagueness of parts of the proposal. He had a concern for his multiple audiences--the funder, the several groups in the Big City Schools, the various community resources he hoped to contact. He wanted as much openness to negotiate as possible. Further, he raised an item we had not well considered, the room needed by foundation staff to present themselves in a reasonable light if the project didn't work out as well as they hoped. Vagueness in the products permits this. We have not tried to analyze the similarities and differences in federal and private initiatives. That seems a worthy objective.

Interplay Between Clients' Problems and One's Personal Theory

Often one's client, in HEW or a Private Foundation has a fuzzy, cloudy, or only partially verbalized statement of the problem. We have a strong belief in and commitment to explicating that as well as possible, usually in the client's own words. Often we try to shape that into a mutually agreeable and clearer, to both or all parties, statement. In our present study the original request by the FEDs was for "a history and analysis of IAP." Simple synonyms for a history: a chronicle, a time line, a story and for analysis--conceptualization, interpretation, and theory have been in our heads and actions continuously. In addition we have translated those terms and related substantive issues into our own methodological and theoretical orientations. We see this point as a direct outgrowth of the focus on "layman's concepts and hypotheses" and their theoretical reinterpretation in Gouldner's (1957) analysis of theoretical requirements of the applied social sciences.

Perhaps, too, this is a form of mutual adaptation, integration, and superordinate goals. But the main point we want to make is that we believe the problem has to be clear to oneself, in one's own terms, whatever they are, if the problem is to be adequately worked on. Complex problems, as in IAP as well as Harper's proposal, are just that much more difficult to get in hand. When there are multiple persons, as in IAP but not, so far, in Harper's proposal, then the problems increase dramatically. The conflict between the leadership in ARC was part of this. The split between ARC and GPC contained a strong element of this too.

Always Have a Product in Mind

"They don't even seem to have a product in mind" is a comment one hears on occasion from researchers in early stages of discussions with funding

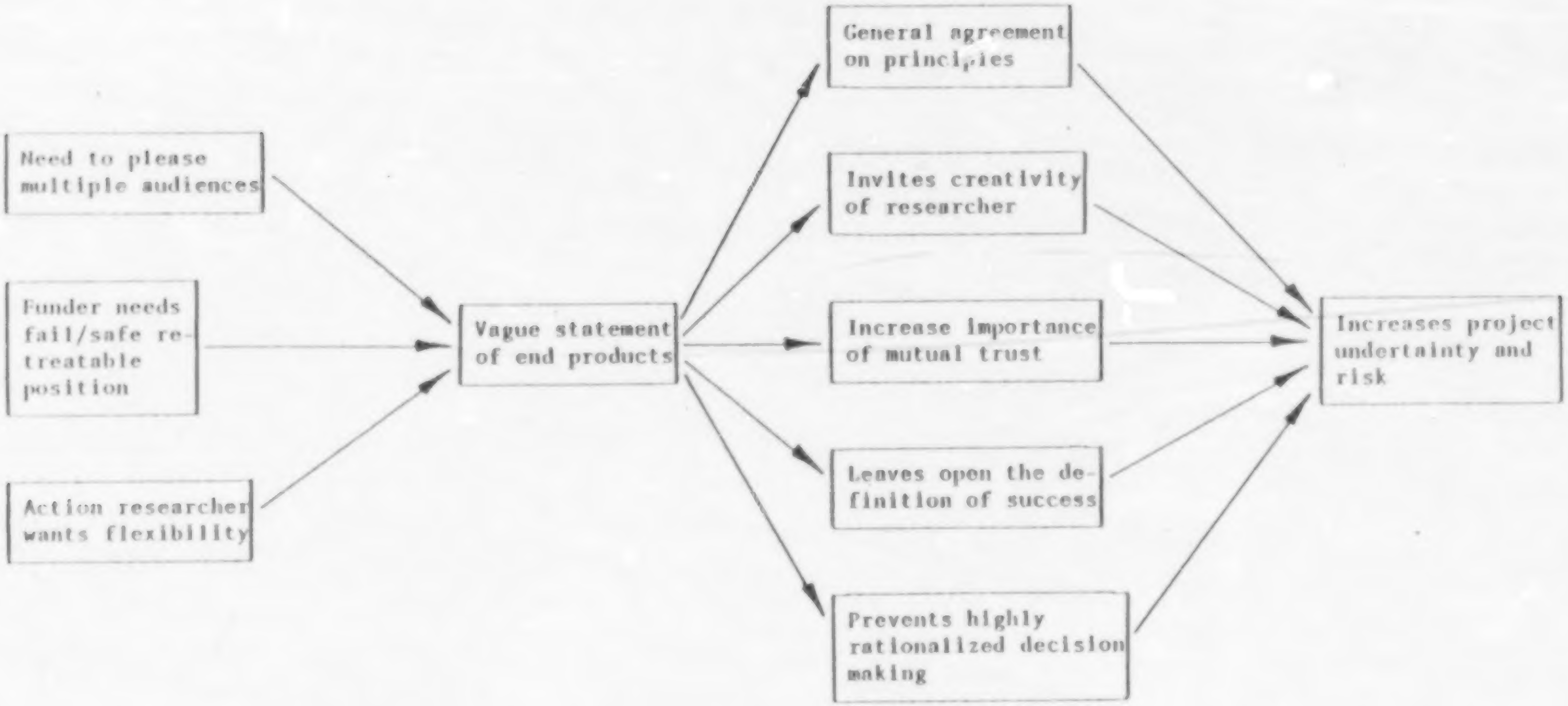

Need to please multiple audiences
Funder needs fail/safe retreatable position
Action researcher wants flexibility
Vague statement of end products
General agreement on principles
Invites creativity of researcher
Increase importance of mutual trust
Leaves open the definition of success
Prevents highly rationalized decision making
Increases project undertainty and risk

Figure I.2 Antecedents and Consequences of Vagueness in Harper's Proposal

agencies or project monitors. The comment is a near paraphrase of Harper's view at one point in our discussions. In IAP, as we have indicated in considerable detail the products, the receivables, varied over time from "a good conversation" to "program plans" to "consultative assistance in schools of your choice" to a variety of written reports. At this point in our society where budgets must always be argued for and negotiated in a context of limited funds, and where personnel always seem accountable to someone else, in our view it is imperative that one has in mind a clear conception of the product. In any kind of project that has 1) an inquiry component, 2) an R & D component, and 3) a learning component, some kind of written report seems mandatory at this point in time. By a learning component, we mean some aspiration to generalize beyond the immediate time, setting, activity or project to other times, settings, activities or projects. While documentary films, slide-tape presentations, or video recordings can and should be used imaginatively most public knowledge in spite of McLuhan is still at the printed page stage. We urged Harper to be clear in his own mind about what he wanted to produce.

The Relevance and Quality of the Product

In our more cynical moments, the relevance and the quality of the product to the immediate situation seems insignificant. What really matters, within the bureaucratic chains of command is that someone outside the system likes the product, lauds it and indicates his reactions publically. The higher the status of the reviewer the better. When reality is socially constructed as in educational R & D, some of that seems inevitable. In our perspective, several items counteract the cynicism: first, we try to analyze and to write initially to please ourselves, that is to say something we believe is accurate, true and important. Second, we retain an image of the multiple categories of our students as audience--preservice teacher trainers, inservice teachers, administrators and specialists in curriculum development, evaluation, and policy positions. We try to say something relevant and significant to them. Third, and overlappingly, we write for our colleagues in the GIE and in various reference groups such as AERA and CAE. Usually if we can satisfy some part of these three sets of audiences the cynicism takes care of itself.

Promise as Little as Possible; Deliver More Than You Promise

Proposal competitions tend to coerce or entrance project directors toward grandiose promises. Our experience has been to keep our proposals and promises as brief and lean as possible. Gauging that is always difficult. Then we have tried to make good on all those promised items and where possible add a bit more. The very nature of the competitive bidding process tends to drive bidders toward more and more unrealistic scope of plans. IAP in the eyes of almost everyone was certainly caught in this process. Harper's multi pronged attack on Big City Schools' problems seems doomed to some of the same consequences.

Precariousness of Funding

When project people relate to permanent institutions and organizations such as the public schools, they must do so from a basis of precarious funding. Their resources may not come at all, may be delayed in coming, may be less than anticipated and may, as in the case of IAP, be cut off totally. The lesson here seems to be for the conversation one has as a project person with school personnel:

1) "Don't get your hopes set too high..."
2) "We don't know for sure..."
3) "Our relationship may be temporary...or episodic at best..."
4) "Under these conditions would you like to try X...?"

The significance of this beyond IAP, comes in our general experience at CEMREL, Inc. and in the particular experience of the Rural Highlands Computer Assisted Instruction Project (Smith and Pohland, 1974). One summary paragraph highlights the issue:

> Funding: cuts, delays, and changes. If one were to select the most important single event responsible for much of the difficulty incurred during the year, the several aspects of funding would rank near or at the top. The initial proposal submitted by the local Title III agency, the Rural Highlands Educational Improvement Organization (RHEIO), approximated $417,000. This was reduced to about $258,000. This cut had a multitude of consequences that were disastrous for the CAI operation. It had immediate and negative impact on NIRBS where the program originated, on RHEIO, and on the individual schools and school districts of the region.

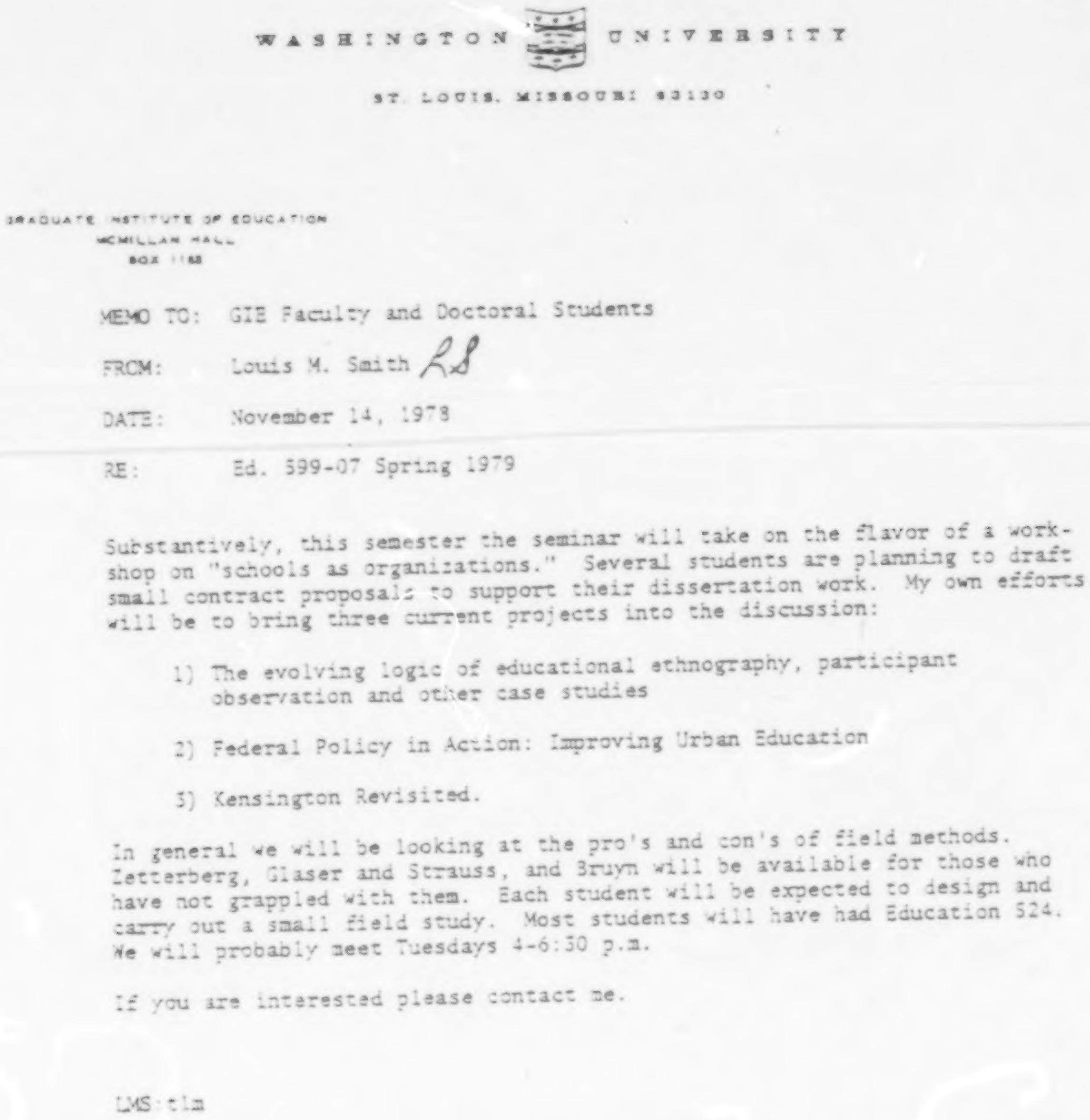
In our experience, most school people are used to tax raising campaigns failing and hassles with the government over maintenance of programs. Many, if not most school people will work out mechanisms and arrangements within those givens or constraints and remain pleased to enter joint efforts. It takes some of the high sentiment out of reform but that may have some assets as well.

Importance of the Formal Contract

Formal contracts are legally binding documents. If one abuses them seriously enough one can go to jail. More likely, especially in times of conflict, the funding agency will return to the letter of the agreement, as the definitive and final arbitrater. If there are items in the contract with which you can't live or if there are differences of opinion that "we'll work out later" and you go ahead and sign, then you've made a big mistake. IAP seems to have been a party to some of these problems. Harper's proposal seems open to similar difficulties. These thoughts obviously return one to the definition of the problem, itemization of the products, and what one has to promise to win the competition.

Political Thoughts as a Conclusion

Throughout our discussion with Harper we found ourselves revealing a number of tactics and strategies, some of which were almost tacit and intuitive rather than conscious and well verbalized. It wasn't clear whether these were generated by Harper, who is a savy social action type of guy, by the particular nature of the task of the project at hand, or the fact that he was in the middle of negotiations at the time of the discussion/interviews. (A critical phone call actually came while we talked.) From his perspective, the proposal per se was much more of a political document which left him free to do any one or several of a number of items depending on how things broke in the field--with school people, with consultants, with time and place constraints and so forth.



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
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GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
MCMILLAN HALL
BOX 1183

MEMO TO: GIE Faculty and Doctoral Students

FROM: Louis M. Smith LS

DATE: November 14, 1978

RE: Ed. 599-07 Spring 1979

Substantively, this semester the seminar will take on the flavor of a workshop on "schools as organizations." Several students are planning to draft small contract proposals to support their dissertation work. My own efforts will be to bring three current projects into the discussion:

1) The evolving logic of educational ethnography, participant observation and other case studies

2) Federal Policy in Action: Improving Urban Education

3) Kensington Revisited.

In general we will be looking at the pro's and con's of field methods. Zetterberg, Glaser and Strauss, and Bruyn will be available for those who have not grappled with them. Each student will be expected to design and carry out a small field study. Most students will have had Education 524. We will probably meet Tuesdays 4-6:30 p.m.

If you are interested please contact me.

LMS:tlm

Figure I.3 Seminar Announcement and Description

A Preferred Organizational Format

In the course of discussions with IAP personnel, usually initially in explaining what we were about in our study and later in more extended conversations on the art and practice of field work, we've talked of our "preferred organizational format." On several occasions, its simplicity brought almost wistful reactions from IAP colleagues who have commented with something close to, "Maybe we would have been better off with a similar smaller effort." Such reactions have suggested upgrading the "personal preference" to a more formal alternative position. In a recent research proposal, we described the plan for the organization and management of the project.

> Organizationally and managerially, the proposed project is quite simple and represents a mode we have utilized in a number of previous investigations. Colloquially it's "half of me, a couple of graduate assistants, and a part time secretary." Such an organizational structure capitalizes on several key elements. 1) The graduate assistants typically combine project activities and dissertations usually by "chunking" or splitting off a phase of the project. This brings a blend of collegiality, high motivation and creativity. 2) The secretary typically becomes the information center for particular details of "what's where" both of records and current events; s/he's responsible for converting notes and tapes into multiple copies of typescripts. 3) The small staff minimizes time and effort on coordination of large numbers of people in varied times and places and reduces the hierarchical dimension and consequent problems of alienation. 4) The consultants, who were active in the original report bring a blend of that experience and their current work in sociology and education. They're already contributed ideas and criticisms to the proposal. They will revisit the school and critique the analysis. And 5) The above frees the principal investigator to remain an active field worker and a supervisor/teacher, roles he both enjoys and has found productive.

In wrestling with a number of ideas in the study we found Horowitz making a similar plea but in stronger language.

> The need for more emphasis on individuals and less on collectivities. The big whooping grants given to teams may have so many dysfunctional byproducts (the creation of new bureaucratic substructures, the mediocrity of the finished product, etc.) that it may be time for the social science agencies themselves to begin researching the shortcomings in team efforts (as in the past they did of individual efforts) and request, even demand, of federal and private agencies more concern and attention to the needs of the individual scholar. (1974, p. 43)

Such simpler organizational structures interlock with the earlier procedures on training, selection, and performance testing. In an important sense it extends that one level more in complexity and sophistication. We have not tried, as yet, building a larger organization with multiple interconnected units of a similar sort. The key ingredient would seem to be a manager with an interest and talent for coordinating across units. When autonomy, idiosyncracy, and creativity are highly valued at the unit level, the task of administering becomes interestingly difficult to say the least. However, a fair amount of attention and literature is appearing on these problems (Allison, 1969). Harper's proposal omits careful discussion of this. In the discussion of the preliminary budget, he seems caught with limited resources for this aspect of the overall task. IAP left us with much stronger convictions about "small is beautiful."

Alternatives Open for Investigation

Obviously, other approaches, centers and organizational structures exist and provide even more creative and productive alternatives for exploring qualitative case study efforts. We know them only indirectly, peripherally or tangentially. These fragments represent the preliminary notes for a research proposal in the sociology and the psychology of knowledge. The thesis is simple and straight forward. IAP was a large scale qualitative inquiry, articulation, and consultative assistance project. It represents a particular combination of these processes. During the last 50 years there have been a half dozen (and more) interesting efforts which combined these same ingredients in various ways and which have survived in various ways. Learning about them might contribute to IAP's original goals. Harper seemed no more informed than we were. Figure I.4 contains these.

Insert Figure I.4 about here

In putting together the listing, the criteria seem to be 1) we know of them and were impressed by them. That is, we found them stimulating, exciting, and potent in helping us shape a point of view. 2) They are highly diverse, at least on the surface. Some seem predominantly university clusters around a key individual, idea, or point of view. Others connect with publishers and commercial dissemination. Some have moved from invisible colleges into formal organizations. Others, as in number seven seem like "a floating crap game" of educationists who have come together in overlapping groups, who haven't jelled into anything formal as yet, and who find talk and interaction stimulating for their own work--a wide variety of teaching, research, curriculum development, evaluation type of activities. 3) Some of the individuals have developed their own private consulting organizations, others have consulted in business and government, others have moved into academic administration. Theory and research mix inextricably with practice. They seem to have done some of what IAP was doing and what Harper is hoping to do. The stories that exist and might be told would combine into a mix of historical method, document analysis, interviews, oral history, and even a bit of participant observation. Multiple models exist--Toulman and Goodfield (1961, 1963, 1965), Toulmin (1972), Kuhn (1972), Crane (1972), Hagstron (1965) Clapesattle (1956) and so on. In our view this is a huge and largely untapped reservoir of knowledge. Or perhaps it's common knowledge--to everyone but us.[5]

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[5] Our colleague John Prunty has labeled this nicely, "Genealogy 101." Collectively, we are pursuing it in Seminar.

1. The Society of Fellows and Yankee City Strands (Homans, Whyte, Kimball, Arensberg et al)

2. The Chicago Symbolic Interactionists (Mead, Becker, Blumer, Geer, Goffman, Lortie, Strauss, M and R Wax et al)

3. The Columbia Functionalists (Merton, Blau, Gouldner, Selznick, Lipset)

4. The Stanford Educational Anthropologists and Holt, Rinehart and Winston Series (Spindler, Boynton et al)

5. The Action Research Tradition at Teachers College, Columbia University (MacKensie, Corey, Foshay)

6. Formalization into Organizations

    1. Society of Applied Anthropology
    2. Council on Anthropology and Education

7. The Case Study/Participant Observation/Evaluation International Network: a series of conferences

    1972 Cambridge I
    1975 Cambridge II
    1976 Allerton
    1976 Monterrey
    1976 Bielefield
    1978 Wingspread

Figure I.4 Alternative But Comparable Traditions in Case Studies in Field Settings

The Responsible Agent: A Strategy For Improved Policy Thinking by Participants, Advisors and Consultants

As we have tried to examine strategies and tactics for capitalizing on "lessons from the past" clarifying "muddling through" and avoiding the phenomenon of "group think," we have come to a major general perspective: the need to engage ourselves in the problem emphathetically enough and fully enough to assume that we have been asked to take responsibility, to carry it out, to be judged and held accountable for our successes and failures. We call it the responsible agent stance. This seems a different stand from other important possible perspectives, each of which can be important in its own right: 1) casual conversations with a colleague over coffee or lunch; 2) being a supportive listener, friend; 3) being a critical advocate, but limited in time, knowledge, and concern; and 4) being a negative critic, caustically taking issue with everything. Essentially it involves taking on the roles of key figures: project monitors, project directors, field workers, consultative assisters, etc. and engaging in the planning and decision making as the incumbents might do. While the phrasing is more general much of the thinking here arises in reacting to Bill Harper's proposal for work in the Big City Public Schools. Several major discernible items arise.

Personal Experiences: A Rationale for Cumulating Cases

When one begins talking from the "responsible agent perspective," one of the most intriguing aspects of the perspective arises, the role of personal experience. Every thought, every comment, every general reference always filters through one's personal experience. For instance, in a conversation[6] regarding the division of labor (field workers collect the data, the central staff do the analysis) and regarding the geographical dispersion issue (small units each part of a large evaluation design scattered over a wide geographical area), we were able to speak to such elements with considerable specificity. It usually came out as, "Yes, we've thought about that problem. We have called it 'the status problem,' 'the geographical dispersion problem,' or 'the whatever problem.'" From there we went into a brief account of IAP's experience in field researcher vs. central staff complications, the interplay with issues of race, sex and other minorities, the problem of stereotyping, the blending with ideology and so forth. The "geographical dispersion" issue raised the data and models from the Rural Highlands project and the kind of data discussed in Chapter Six of this report. Similarities and differences in each project were raised as well as similarities and differences in the new case under examination.

The power of this kind of analysis seems to increase with the wider the range of cases and the greater the depth each has been pursued. What it means is that one can: 1) pinpoint and understand the issue that is being raised; 2) define and redefine the "problem" in one or more additional ways; 3) do that defining and redefining at both a specific concrete case level and at a more abstract level; 4) thereby bringing in the power of both specificity and abstractness which often cue different sets of alternative ideas and instances; and 5) in the generation and evaluation of alternatives one always has multiple images of things that might be done and multiple experiences of how those alternatives worked out in specific cases. Figure I.5 suggests how this process proceeds.

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[6] Some of these reflections arose out of a conversation with Ken Cox and Arie Rotem of the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. We were discussing field methods in evaluation. Since these discussions, popular accounts have appeared of the World Health Organization's eradication of small pox (Henderson, 1978). Their solution to a number of similar problems seems relevant and important.

Insert Figure I.5 about here

Do We Believe in It?

Fundamental to the enterprise is some "gut level" reaction that the project is really worth doing, something we want to spend two, three, five years of our lives involved in. While individuals have different personalities, playing out the project against our best perception of our own needs, values, beliefs, and opportunities forces the individual with whom we are talking to make a similar analysis and justification. The items of commitment, of relevance, of importance, all of which are complex intellectual/ethical issues moves one into a radically different stance from the textbook paradigms of educational research theory and action. We think that is an important and necessary shift.

Can We Make a Better Overall Plan?

Reform is a mix of overall systemic and contextual interdependencies and quite specific, concrete, immediate tasks. When we involve ourselves deeply enough to actually attempt to draw up an alternative, competing or supplementary plan, we are better able to see and comment on the strengths and weaknesses of the presented proposal. That is no mean task. The time and energy required suggests some major limits on how much and what kind of consulting one does.

Can We Make it Happen?

Perhaps the most general orientation within this role is to ask oneself, can we, with our known abilities, energy, time and resources, make it happen? For instance, we know how long it takes us to write a proposal, to write quarterly reports, to write final reports. We know how difficult it is to talk our colleagues into carrying out a simple task, much less a longer term and complicated one, and how difficult it is to coordinate them into some kind of phased and sequenced effort. Our repertory as we perceive it, is quite limited in regard to this dimension. How people err, on the side of conservation or on the side of expansiveness seems an interesting problem. Most people we know who are interested in reform, change, and innovation seem to err on the expansive side.

Can We Tell What is Happening Concretely and Specifically?

One of the beauties of field work is that telling the story always involves one in who does what, when, where, with whom, and in what sequence. That's a nice antidote to general abstractions, plans and ideology. As Jack Easley phrases

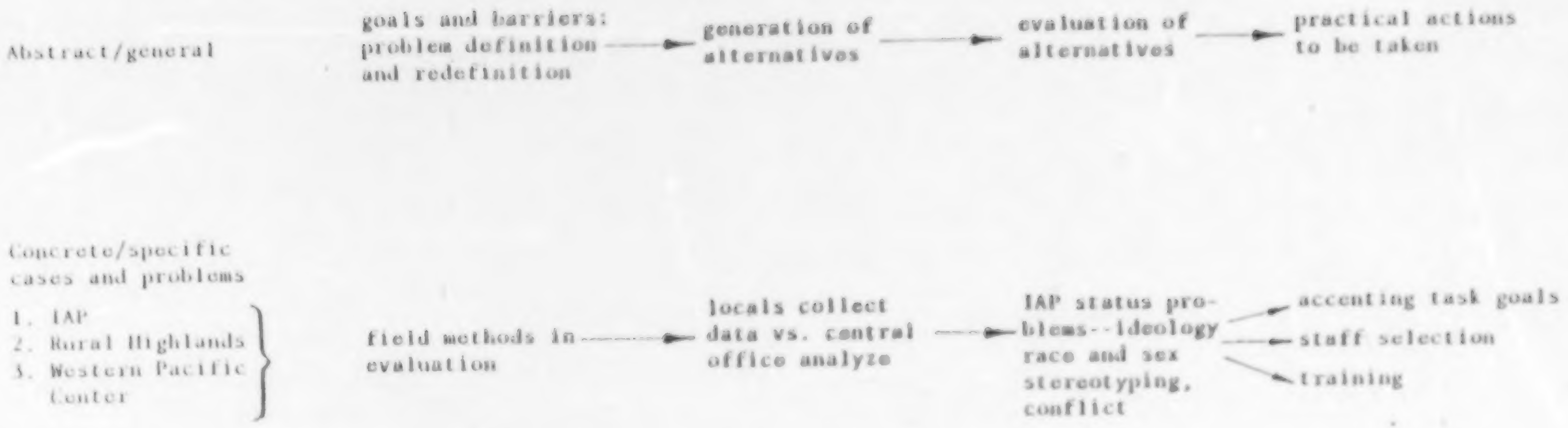
Abstract/general
goals and barriers: problem definition and redefinition
generation of alternatives
evaluation of alternatives
practical actions to be taken
Concrete/specific cases and problems
1. IAP
2. Rural Highlands
3. Western Pacific Center
field methods in evaluation
locals collect data vs. central office analyze
IAP status problems--ideology race and sex stereotyping, conflict
accenting task goals
staff selection
training

Figure 1.5 Using Multiple Case Experience in the Responsible Agent Stance

it, it's a search for mechanisms, an asking for the specific examples of individuals carrying out specific activities with other individuals in a known setting and time, coordinated with other known activities, settings, times and places. While invention always is occurring in exciting projects, some attention to the ratio of novel procedures to known and established techniques and routines seems very important. Even to make such an estimate requires concrete specification of the major items in the proposal

Would We Hire Him/Her for Our Project?

Personnel decisions are always among the most difficult. As one cuts through the various levels and domains of friendship, interesting personality, pleasantness, and so forth, the question comes back to "would we hire him/her to do a similar task on our project?" This brings us back to performance tests, "track records" related to the basic activities in each of the organizational positions. Subtleties can be introduced such as the ratio of new or untested persons to experienced personnel, the amount, kind, and effectiveness of training programs, the relationships of the small project to the larger social issues one is working on. We've been struck by the common sense, everyday problem of how individuals find, judge and utilize tradesmen when they come to a new community. Who do you hire to repair the car, fix the plumbing, build the room on the back of the house or take care of one's physical aches and pains--teeth, arthritis, and broken bones. The analogy seems worth exploring.

From Hypotheses to Laws: The Growth of Confidence in Cases

One of the most striking differences in the IAP case study than in some of our earlier ones is the shift in the kinds of generalizations we are willing to make. For Dwyer, it has been the replications from his alternative school case and for Smith the reappearance of images from Kensington. In a larger sense it's been our doing a case study, of people doing case studies and people doing something with case studies. And we have done a lot of case studies in the past and have done a lot with them (mostly teaching) and currently trying to do a wider variety of consulting and action oriented projects (e.g., the Alternative School and the reorganization of undergraduate educational psychology). And all the time trying to reflect on the process. This reflection has recently come to a head in two major efforts by Smith (1978 a & b); both of which were contributed to and argued through by Dwyer, as one of severa seminar participants.

The point that we're making is that our confidence in the generalizatio and in the breadth of their applicability is expanding rapidly. To see stron commonalities across three separate and independent educational organizations. the Kensington Elementary School, the Athens Alternative High School and the Inquiry and Assistance Project is amazing. In addition we see commonalities with Harper's project. The projects appeared over a 15 year period. The personnel came from different colleges and graduate schools. They were each doing in their own eyes, their own creative thing.

While the concepts and generalizations may be wrong, irrelevant or insignificant against some larger criterion or sets of data, the point is that, from our experience, they are not. As such they become vital aids in thinking through new problems. (Is true belief far behind?) They become part of that complex we're calling "the responsible agent."

Conclusions of Lessons to be Learned: The Overreaching Epistomology

The broadest context into which we would place our ideas arises in the philosophy of science, particularly the discussions of the philosophy of history. Scriven, in his continuing battle with the logical positivists, raises a perspective we find compatible.

> One would thus expect it to be the norm in history and, if this approach is logically sound, it does something to rescue history from the choice between (usual conceptions of) the Scylla of science and the Charybdis of literature. We can, for instance, answer the question, what do we learn from history, without having to produce absurd or trivial laws, or bare particulars about the past, or murmur mysteriously about deepening our understanding of man. *What we most importantly learn from history is a range of possibilities--not of probabilities, not of certainties. And of course these are not mere possibilities, of the kind that one has in mind when one says, oh, anything is possible! They are significant possibilties, ones that have shaken empires or cabinets before and may do so again for all that we know to the contrary.* They are thus most deserving of our respect, and with our knowledge of them we can plan more rationally for the future. If we wish to make a certain outcome more likely, then we can try to bring about those conditions which on previous occasions, not demonstrably irrelevant to the present case, did bring about that outcome. If we wish to prevent an outcome, what we can do is to make it less likely; we try to eliminate those circumstances which have in the relevant past brought about this result or repeat those circumstances that have preciously frustrated it. We rarely have much idea about how much effect such actions will have, speaking precisely, but we sometimes know that they have a "good chance," or a "desperate hope," and to suppose that we shall ever be better off than that in human engineering a history-conscious world is pipe dreaming. The sad thing is that we could have done so much and done it so much better if we had been willing to learn the lessons from history that are there to be learned, instead of going in search of some Holy Grail whose contents would give us the same kind of predictive reliability in history that we have in astronomy (Scriven, 1972, p. 115). (Our Italics.)

If we understand him correctly he is arguing the more general epistomological case of knowledge in a theory of action.

Our more general analysis of this position vis a vis participant observer research is in Smith (1979). For the moment, the key issue is a grounding for "lessons to be learned." In Scriven's words, history should make the student of thought and action aware of significant alternatives s/he might not have considered. If we understand this point it is a change in cognitive structure by way of defining a problem or by way of suggesting additional alternatives. If that really be true, that is an incredibly powerful role for historical knowledge. That seemed to be a part of [illegible] FED's original interest.

> ...if you study a bunch of interesting places for three years, you'd increase your repertoire of experience so that when schools have a problem they have a much more varied set of examples' to draw on. (TI, YS)

CONCLUSION

Deja vu is one of those nice sounding words. And so [illegible] was. We had a good conversation with Harper and some other people.

Appendix II

Methodological and Procedural Issues[1]

Louis M. Smith
and
David C. Dwyer

Graduate Institute of Education
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St. Louis, Missouri 63130

October 1979

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[1] This is the methodological statement for *Federal Policy in Action: A Case Study of a National Urban Education Project*. Because of the general importance of the issues we have written it in a "stand alone" style. In addition, it serves as a complimentary piece to two recent methodological essays by Smith (1978, 1979).

1. INTRODUCTION

At least since *Project Camelot* (Horowitz, 1974) anyone who presumes to investigate "federal policy in action" needs to present as full an account as possible of his sponsorhsip, his initial perspective, his involvement, and his specific procedural steps, before moving on to the story, the analyses, or the interpretation of a federal policy in action. In *Project Camelot*, a group of U.S. social scientists investigated the potential for revolution in another country, actions that a government might take to relieve the conditions leading to internal turmoil, and finally the nature of an information system leading to the first and second objectives. The project was sponsored by the U.S. Department of the Army and was to be carried out in Latin America. Quarrels occurred among a number of relevant parties--Chili and USA, Department of State and the Department of Defense, American University administrators and social science departments, and within the social science community. Social science dilemmas of research to improve society (in the judgment of which contending group?) versus the needs to be responsive to the canons of a discipline were highlighted. Eventually *Project Camelot* was cancelled for political rather than scientific reasons (p. 40): Did this constitute an act of censorship? Who owns social science research? The problems seem to breed further problems at a horrendous rate.

Traditionally, educational researchers in their move toward objectivity have reported important data in the forms of controls, coefficients of reliability and validity, and tests for beyond chance relationships. Field researchers, for instance Becker (1970), have argued strongly for telling the reader precisely what steps were taken in the research enterprise, thereby aiding the reader in critiquing and evaluating the results and interpretations or enabling him to begin a replication with a new case. Now, with the advent of pluralism of interests in educational enterprises, with contention and conflict of objectives, with alternative views of the degree and kind of educational change both possible and desirable, and with the bearing of research on that form of practical action called policy formation additonal clarity is necessary. It is in this regard that *Project Camelot* is such a vivid instance. And, with a similar concern, we present this account of methods and procedures.

2. THE POINT OF DEPARTURE

2.1 The Initial Problem Statement

In the original proposal the problem statement was brief but explicit.

> At this point in time, few individuals, laymen or professional educators, question the severity of problems in urban schooling. In addition, few individuals see panaceas or quick solutions to those problems. Rather, the complexity, the difficulty, the intractability of the issues are the perceptions of those closest to the day to day workings of urban schools. The proposed investigation describes and analyzes an interrelated set of initiatives and projects in which a federal agency, a half dozen urban school systems, and a non-profit corporation joined forces to address a cluster of urban educational problems. In brief, the Inquiry Assistance Project (IAP) was created to study ongoing local innovations in urban schools, to learn from those efforts, and to use that knowledge as a basis for consultative assistance in other school districts. In many respects, the project seemed to become a microcosm of the urban schools: issues and questions of social class, race, governance, priorities, conflicting perspectives, and educational dilemmas rippled throughout the project. Some problems seemed mandated by the vary nature of the federal charge, others seemed a part of the reality of the urban schools "out there," and still others seemed part of the dynamic of the particular cluster of individuals and cumulating set of events in the project's history.
>
> This proposed research intends to tell the story of the Inquiry and Assistance Project and to place those events within a two-fold contextualist perspective. In part it's an historical study, a recent history, from the germination of the ideas within a small Department in the Federal bureaucracy through its implementation of inquiry in a dozen urban schools and then its consultative assistance in several other school districts. In part, the contextualism is an attempt to trace out the complicated skein of relations among organizations, groups, and individuals, a quasi stationary equilibrium, a social system, in an urban setting or environment.
>
> The more specific forshadowed problems are sub parts of the larger context. A few help specify the focus of the research.
>
> 1. How was the project conceived?
> 2. Who made what kinds of decisions with what kinds of information and advice?
> 3. How did the ideas get translated into the bureaucratic machinery of RFPs, proposals, and reviews?

4. From what array of proposals was the selection made? What were the intellectual and social processes involved?
5. How then did the IAP begin as an entity in its own right?
6. Who joined it? How did it structure itself? How did it cope with its mandated tasks? What internal problems did it develop? How were these resolved? In effect, how did IAP evolve and develop?
7. What substantive issues, problems, and ideas did it confront in urban schools--pluralism, localism, desegregation, participatory involvement, alienation, conflicting federal and local law, policy, and norms, open education and specific building and classroom educational innovations?
8. To what extent and in what ways was the project monitored, guided or supported by the federal funding agency, by peer reference groups, by its own governing and advisory boards?

In effect, the investigators felt there was an interesting and important story to be told of an effort, small or major depending upon whether a million dollars per year is, for example, seen from the reference point of several billions of dollars per year spent in Title I programs or, for example, the $25 million spent in all the Regional Labs and R & D Centers of NIE. Further, preliminary contact with the project suggested that, in microcosm, most of the important issues in the federal role in urban education were present in the Inquiry and Assistance Project. If those could be teased out, examined in detail, and studied in their interdependency, an important contribution might be made to the understanding of those critical issues.

2.2 Initial Statement of Methods and Procedures

In the initial proposal, a brief half dozen points were made concerning the methodological style of the investigation. In retrospect most of them hinged on the participants' and sponsor's acquaintanceship with the previous research of the principal investigator. Most of the major participants in both the Federal Education Department and in IAP had such knowledge.

> The research approach is in keeping with what has been called case study, field study and educational ethnography. Within that broad genre, several particular elements are worthy of special notice:
>
> 1. The study is an elaboration of the principal investigator's series of participant observational studies in education, (Smith & Geoffrey, 1968; Smith & Keith, 1971; Smith and Pohland, 1974; Smith, 1977a, 1977b).
> 2. The principal investigator is a semi-independent/semi-involved observer and analyst. He has been on IAP's advisory board for two years. Consequently he has some familiarity with the development of IAP, its structure, its mandate. At the same time, his major reference groups are the GIE at Washington University, and AERA. In part this is Powdermaker's "Stranger and Friend" and Bruyn's "Involved and Detached" participant observer.

3. A considerable number of documents regarding the project exist in the offices of IAP and the Federal Education Department. Access to these will facilitate the historical reconstruction of the project.

4. In the tenor of oral history, project participants from the many subgroups making up the overall social system will be interviewed to develop a clarity of the multiple perspectives on the project, its development and its functioning.

5. As the project is still underway, some time will be spent in the setting observing the current stage of the project as it moves into its mid-term and final phases.

6. The bringing together of the multiple strands of data toward a valid picture of the phenomenon is what Denzin (1971) has called "triangulation" and what Smith and Pohland (1974, 1976) have called the "multimethod, multiperson, multisituation, and multivariable matrix" in their analyses of participant observer methodology.

2.3 Genesis of the Study

Many of the usual dichotomies in educational inquiry: research vs. evaluation, basic vs. applied research, traditional vs. action research, grants vs. contracts, sponsored vs. unsponsored research seem impotent if not false distinctions in our experience. They pale when contrasted with the realities of actual events in FPA. In effect, what we are trying to say is that most textbook discussions of educational research methodology hardly penetrate the surface of the complex intellectual and ethical issues involved in the conception, design, and reporting of educational inquiry. Consider whether we in FPA are doing research or evaluation, basic or applied research, traditional or action research and so forth. Or, and even more importantly, whether those are even the critical distinctions to be made, as one considers the following in the genesis of the present project.

1. Smith had known the director of IAP before IAP began.
2. He had known several of the FED's, had been at conferences and had sat on review panels with them, all before IAP had begun.
3. He served on IAP's advisory board because of sympathetic interests both to substance and methodology.
4. In IAP, he had spoken out at several points about the need for and possibilities of a study of IAP, done by someone more independent than he.
5. Several staff members in FED explicitly suggested him by name as a potential investigator for the present project.
6. At that point he conferred with the Director of IAP, the principal FED staff members, and colleagues at Washington University regarding the feasibility and problems in doing the task.

7. On the basis of these discussions he wrote the initial draft of the proposal, cited at several points in this section. It was accepted in principle by all parties and funding occurred. The monies were from FED's general budget and written as a sub contract to IAP.

8. In a sense, in his view, he is beholden to everyone and to no one.

9. As indicated elsewhere, Dwyer, the research assistant/associate was chosen to provide added independence, a check on cooptation, as well as more general intellectual and procedural assistance.

The sequence of events has a broader context both operationally and theoretically. Two points might be made. First, the importance of the research serial needs to be raised in the psychology and sociology of knowledge (Smith, 1978 a and b). As "idiosyncratic meanings" are converted into "intentional symbolization" and its particular pieces of inquiry, they fit into and take some of their meaning and focus from those historical and contemporaneous contexts.[2] Second, and really as an illustration of the first point, Smith (1977) put down some personal notes relating theory to practice in educational research for a conference in Bielefeld, Germany in December of 1976. Two brief excerpts anticipate the present project:

> My goals for educational research seem modest in comparison with the position taken in the "General Perspective." At some very fundamental level I'm trying to answer questions for myself. Often these are posed in terms of issues in my teaching a broadly defined "educational psychology" to preservice and inservice teachers, to administrators, and to curriculum developers and evaluators. (p. 30)
>
> For me, this category of events, mediating problems and agencies, refers to "who else is around whose world overlaps mine." Mostly my life impinges on: elementary and secondary teachers, school administrators--principals, supervisors and superintendents, educational innovators, curriculum developers, curriculum evaluators, teacher educators, school boards and other policy groups. In a sense, these professionals--their roles, activities and problems--become another operational definition or referent for "practice." Somehow the research I do, the data, the concepts and the propositions we utilize are supposed to help them. The verb "help" remains something of an enigma.
>
> In addition, I have been minimally involved with state departments of education or with the federal government. Practical "legislative" approaches to problems are beyond my ken. At some point in the near future, I would hope to turn attention toward those areas to see such a context for a theory of educational action. (p. 35)

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[2] This position builds upon Beittel's (1973) analysis of the making of art and our conviction that creativity in art, in educational inquiry, and in teaching bear important similarities.

In an important sense, he was on the lookout for a project such as *Federal Policy in Action*. It clearly was part of a larger serial of educational research he was evolving. In reflecting on these events, the study becomes both basic and applied, both action research and traditional research; it contains elements of independence and sponsorship; it resembles both a contract and a grant.

2.4 The Research Assistant/Associate

Because of the principal investigator's involvement with FED and IAP, he felt it important to have an associate who was totally independent of FED and IAP, who had had a fair amount of experience in multiple aspects of schooling and who was trained at the doctoral level in general and in field methods of research in particular. The memo which went out to GIE faculty and graduate students contained the following two paragraphs.

> During the last couple of years I've been involved minimally with the Inquiry and Assistance Project (IAP) funded by the federal government. In the last ten days I've been asked to do a "general history and analysis of the project." As we talked substance, the title or theme which I settled on tentatively is *Improving urban education: federal policy in action*. Methodologically, the style fits the case study format with a heavy mix of document analysis, interviewing, and observation. It tends toward the participatory end of the participant observation continuum. It has some hazards in cooptation by several groups.
>
> As we talked organization, personnel, and budget they have agreed to 1/2 of me and 1/2 of an assistant for the period *March 1* to December 31. We can jiggle the start up time a little. What I'm looking for is someone interested in and willing to learn about organizations, policy, and urban settings; all in an educational context; and someone trained in qualitative observational field work who wants to work approximately (?) 20 hours/week, and someone who is able to do some traveling. My hope is to capture the most creative portion of the assistant's time. In that regard it should be possible to carve out a piece of the project for a dissertation. If a dissertation is underway, it might mean delaying it for eight to ten months while we do data gathering, analyzing, and writing on the project. I guess what I'm trying to say is that the work should be exciting and stimulating to the point that one's energy for other major activities will be limited. For myself, I've made arrangement to delay the *Kensington Revisited* project until January 1979.

Dwyer was selected from a field of half dozen candidates. He has an MA in Science Education from Webster College and he is completing a Ph.D. in the Educational Policy and Administration (EPA) program in the Graduate Institute of Education at Washington University. He has taught science in a junior high school for seven years and for two years was a teacher/administrator of a public alternative high school. He has taught part-time for Webster College, Maryville College, and Washington University. He has been a consultant, mostly in science education for a number of school districts and local teacher groups.

He had taken courses and seminars in field work and policy formation. From this decade of professional training and experience he brought an important independent point of view to the project.

Part of Dwyer's vested interests lie in the research assistantship as a training experience, partly in having an income during graduate school, and partly in a piece of the project, aspects of ideology and organizational evolution as a part of his Ph.D. dissertation. Importantly, his concerns for the reformation of public schooling through organizational changes seemed nicely matched with the intellectual problems in Federal Policy in Action.

2.5 Undergraduate Research Assistants: Icing on the Cake

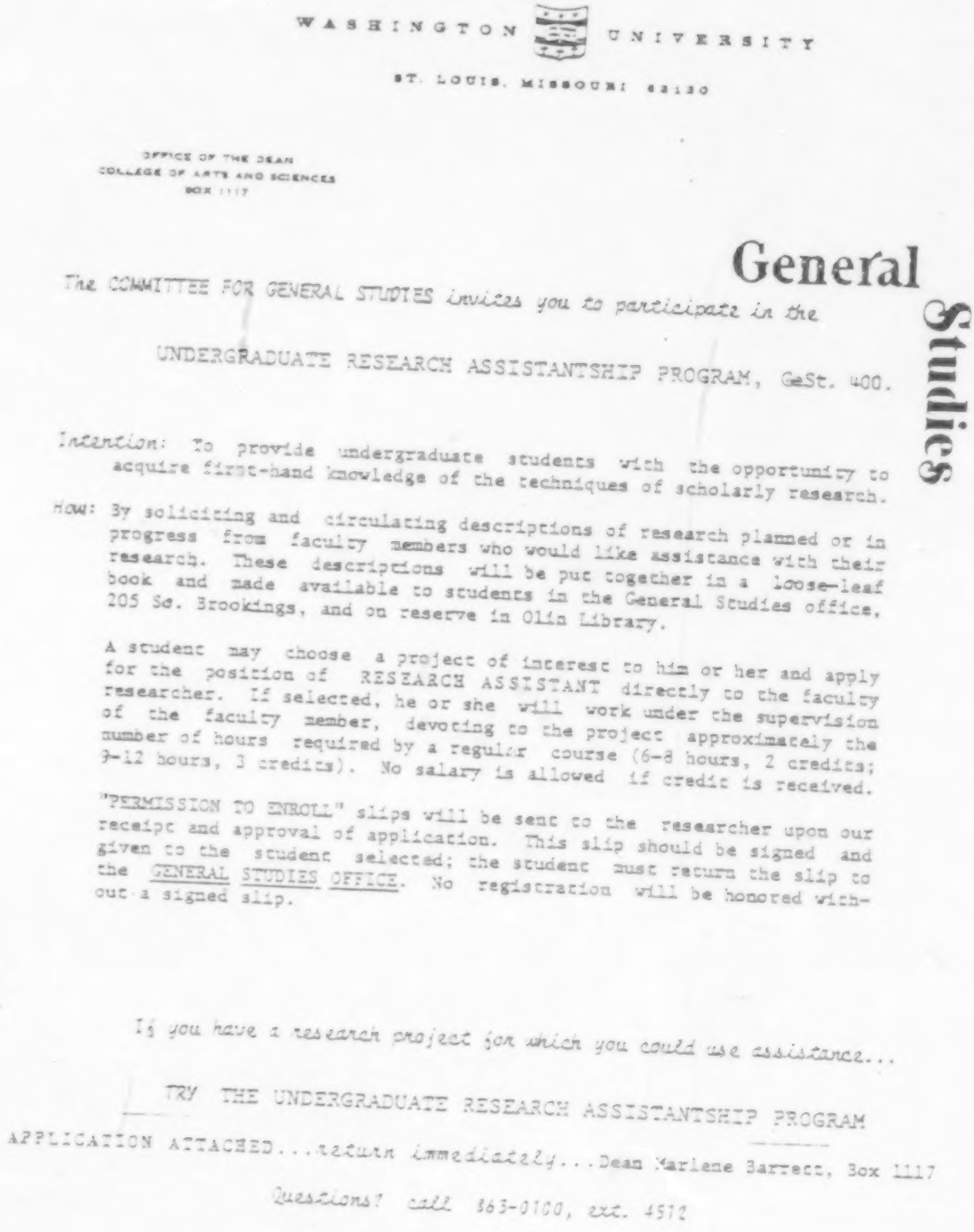
For the first time in our experience we have had undergraduate research assistants working on one of our projects. Susan Berman and Cynthia Finger were A students in Smith's last year's undergraduate Educational Psychology class. They initiated a discussion of the possibilities of further work under the auspices of Washington University's General Studies Program. Figure II.1 contains a description of the research training component. The tasks have been a mix of "gofer" activities and intellectual ones.

Insert Figure II.1 about here

The positive outcomes for the project include small but specific "icing on the cake" aspects. For instance our analysis has used the work of May (1973) and Janis (1972), among others. The assistants searched for and found several reviews of these books. The reviews added another perspective to the interpretations we were raising, provided a more general context for the developing argument, and added to our confidence in the legitimacy and importance of the general theory we were developing. In the past, the idea for that kind of search has been present but the time and energy have only been minimally available.

A second benefit has been in the hour or so once a week continuing discussion among the several of us. Early on, Smith and Dwyer, in trying to explain the project found themselves forced to speak in a way meaningful to bright lay persons with minimal professional experience and knowledge. We think that that has added an important quality of clarity to this report. Similarly, around specific items, for example, our references to the work of Ortez (1978), McGivney and Haught (1972) and Griffiths et al (1963) forced us to speak meaningfully to the lay person of the relation between those data and their interpretations and our data and interpretations.

A third major benefit has been in reading and reacting to the final report from the position of independence, of an intelligent, educated layman, and from a growing acquaintance with the data, the problems under discussion, and the cumulating theoretical perspective.



WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
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General Studies

The COMMITTEE FOR GENERAL STUDIES *invites you to participate in the*

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Intention: To provide undergraduate students with the opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of the techniques of scholarly research.

How: By soliciting and circulating descriptions of research planned or in progress from faculty members who would like assistance with their research. These descriptions will be put together in a loose-leaf book and made available to students in the General Studies office, 205 So. Brookings, and on reserve in Olin Library.

A student may choose a project of interest to him or her and apply for the position of RESEARCH ASSISTANT directly to the faculty researcher. If selected, he or she will work under the supervision of the faculty member, devoting to the project approximately the number of hours required by a regular course (6-8 hours, 2 credits; 9-12 hours, 3 credits). No salary is allowed if credit is received.

"PERMISSION TO ENROLL" slips will be sent to the researcher upon our receipt and approval of application. This slip should be signed and given to the student selected; the student must return the slip to the GENERAL STUDIES OFFICE. No registration will be honored without a signed slip.

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Questions? call 863-0100, *ext.* 4512

Figure II.1 Undergraduate Research Assistants

The major problem, and one that resembles some of IAP's problems, was "the first time through" phenomenon. We hadn't had such a relationship before. We didn't know what to expect or demand regarding work loads and didn't know how to discover, create, and capitalize on the multiple lines of intellectual curiosity. We planned on an ad hoc basis rather than more systematically and we got caught, on occasion, with the vagaries of liberal arts professors' assignments, papers and exams. In effect, we experimented with a small part of the overall procedures, gained some experience, and are ready to move more vigorously next time through.

The benefits and costs to the assistants are best described in their own words.

> In this case, the benefits and the costs were one and the same. The cost of time, energy and defeat all contributed to the acquisition of knowledge, experience and success. If it were not for the time and energy, full immersion into the research duties could not have been attainable and therefore, nothing could have been gained.
>
> With the dual role of an outsider, the knowledge hungry "innocent" student, and an insider, the informed, undergraduate research assistnat, the two of us stumbled our way through documents, interviews, reviews and related books in an attempt to clarify, seek out, and possibly, through synthesis, arrive at a comprehensible assumption. Even though our naivity caused the challenge and excitement to seem frustrating at times, the overall gain of observing and participating in the practice of research was one of the most exuberating and educational experiences that either of us have ever been a part of.

3. ETHICAL ISSUES

Early on, we began to extend the preliminary notions into more explicit and concrete procedures. These have evolved throughout the life of the project. All are products of discussion between ourselves (Smith and Dwyer), most were discussed with at least one and usually a number of participants in IAP; most were items of discussions among colleagues at Washington University, at the Center for Applied Research in Education, at the University of East Auglia (where Smith spent six weeks in the summer of 1978) and at various universities where case study research is underway. For analytical purposes, the discussion breaks reasonably easily into a cluster of ethical issues and a cluster of procedural issues.

The core ethical problem in any social science research is acting in the context of two conflicting values--the pursuit of truth through scientific procedures and the maintenance of respect for the individuals whose lives are being lived, focally or peripherally, in the context of one's research project.[3] For one reared in an orthodoxy which says that there is a single ultimate right and moral way to behave, the shock of the possibility of a pluralism of values can be debilitating. The corollary that being "trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly..." could frequently put one into personal conflict rather than personal consensus can, in turn, be devastating. In a sense the conflict between scientific values and the dignity of the individuals involved in the research is a particular instance of a much more pervasive set of ethical and personal problems and questions.

The two most important operating principles in maintaining respect for the persons involved in one's study are informed consent and anonymity of participants. Each of these is reached through more proximal values and procedures, e.g., confidentiality of records. In each of our projects, the particulars have worked themselves out in various ways. In laying out this ethical analysis many problems in what are usually called strategy and tactics of observational research procedures will be raised. While problems of entry, problem definition, data collection, publication are important in the execution of a piece of research, their resolution as moral issues is the most persistently troubling.

Ethical issues seemed more acutely omnipresent in FPA than in any we had carried out before. The shifting role of the principal investigator from advisor to investigator, the personal friendships and professional relationships which went back a number of years with some members and which intertwined throughout the project, the sympathies with the substance and methods of IAP, the feeling of being coopted by the innumerable individuals and subgroups, and the multiple value dilemmas, about which American society is heavily divided, run all through the project. For example, as these notes are being written, "The New Conservatism" is in the air and just this week (August 10, 1978), Newsweek has a vigorously stated column by Vernon Jordan of the Urban League on "The New Negativism." As we have threaded our way along we have tried to reflect on these issues and write about them as clearly as possible.

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[3] In a recent analysis, Sharp (1978) has argued that the single most important criterion for evaluating field work is the degree to which it helps achieve a society characterized by formal and substantive equality. That seems an important enlargement of the discussion we present here.

Informed Consent

Informed consent, people willingly agreeing in full view of aims and purposes, problems and procedures and relevant information, involves a host of sub-procedures. For instance, in Complexities, our first major participant observer study, Geoffrey, the teacher of the classroom in the Washington School, and Smith talked the project through as colleagues. Geoffrey talked with the teachers in his building especially those in his clique, and with his principal. Later Smith talked with the principal, who referred him to the area superintendent. In some instances, one may be routed to the general superintendent and/or to the school board. This did not happen. Part of the hierarchy of authority is professional responsibility for making decisions concerning the welfare of the individuals in the system. School systems vary as to which levels are involved in which decisions. We did not formally seek approval from the teachers in the building. The focus and scope of the project, in terms of discussions and agreements up and down the line was Geoffrey's class. Our agreements with the principal and area superintendent were that Smith would not be in any other classroom unless invited by the teachers. At the first faculty meeting when Smith was introduced, he presented as simply, directly and as honestly as he knew how what he was planning to do. He indicated that he hoped to get to know them during the course of the project. This happened in a number of instances. Ultimately he refused invitations to come into other classes because Geoffrey's class remained interesting.

No discussions were raised with the parents. The children were told that he was from Washington University, part of his job was teacher education. He was interested in what they found interesting, difficult, etc. in their school work. In effect the school authority structure was standing in loco parentis and in loco communitas. At the time, and now a dozen years later, that seemed, and still seems, reasonable. The problem was essentially one in professional education; the children's personal identities were lost in the confidentiality and anonymity procedures. To the best of our knowledge, no child in the Washington School has ever suffered as a consequence of our observations.

In Anatomy, the informed consent issues were quite different.[4] Essentially the responsible authorities in the district (Superintendent, Curriculum Director and principal with approval of the School Board) initiated contacts to have

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[4] For more detail see the discussion pp. 355-389 in Anatomy of Educational Innovation. (1971).

"independent outsiders" studying the new school. Discussions were held as to the type of inquiry (control group experiment versus ethnography) resources (from the school district and federal funds), and the substantive focus. Smith drafted the US Office of Education proposal after discussions with the administrative staff. They read it and made a few suggestions and comments, he revised it and submitted it. In due course it was funded. One of the by-products of this was that it committed him directly and the school district indirectly to a formal final report on the project.

Discussions were held concerning the role of the investigator--independent observer vs. on-going consultant. He was given the choice. He opted for the former. Several reviewers of Anatomy have taken quite different stances toward this decision. On the one hand we have been criticized for scientific fiddling while an idealistic Rome burned. In effect we should have put our energy and efforts into helping make the program work. On the other hand we have been accused of misreading and analyzing our data, not calling a spade a spade because we might be thrown out. The role we were trying to play was that of the careful outside observer whose observations and interpretations might be of help to schoolmen who, on another time and occasion, might be involved in changing an elementary school. That longer time perspective seemed legitimate and justifiable. Smith didn't know how much it was conditioned by his ignorance of how to do what the Kensington people were trying to do, by his strong commitment to investigator independence as necessary to get at truth, or to his compartmentalizing his advocacy role in the more limited domains of courses he teaches in a university education department and in the politics and policy formation within that department and university.

The project and the choice of research role in the Kensington study has had tremendous impact on him in a number of ways. To mention one particular, the "time and resources" phrase that occurred over and over again in the notes never departs very far from consciousness when discussing, consulting, or negotiating a project. Unanticipated problems, demands, shifting the rules, etc. are known as events that will arise in any innovation. Ferreting out as many of those as possible, covering them adequately and building in reserve strength for undefined issues is a major part of an advocacy role. How much of that we knew then, is not clear. Now, after Kensington, it's a large red flag. When called upon for advice or recommendations, a number of items such as "time and energy" come into the conversations. This remains consistent with our original intentions and hopes. In a sense its ultimate appeal is to a commitment that solving the intellectual and theoretical problems and puzzles in education is a necessary and important task. In an overall scheme of division of labor in education it rightly seems to belong to academia. We tried to phrase this strongly in Anatomy:

> At the universities and the research and development centers, the scholarly world of professional education and social science, of which we are a part, has failed to do justice to the complicated problems involved in originating an innovative educational organization. Investigators and theorists have not focused hard enough, long enough, nor carefully enough on the small and mundane as well as the large and important issues and problems necessary for idealistic practitioners to carry out their dreams. Our hope is that this monograph will fill some of those gaps. (pp. v-vi).

The Rural Highlands study was a bit different from both Complexities and Anatomy. The major motivation was looking for settings to explore the limits of participant observation. Howard Russell, at CEMREL, Inc., was worrying along the initial stages of curriculum evaluation models. CEMREL, as a regional educational laboratory, was involved in a number of inter-organizational programs, one of which was the development and evaluation of a computerized mathematics program with a local educational improvement organization. In this context of rough and tumble administrators negotiating program, budgets, and contracts, "informed consent" seems like a concept wandering through the wrong domain, a real Ryleian category mistake. While not sure of what they were about in all this we did try out for the first time, one of Becker's informal suggestions toward informed consent. We indicated with two large, finally finished O.E. Final Reports that a report something like these would be an outcome of our part of the final evaluation report and that they might want to have a look at them to know what they were getting into. We left the reports with them. In the year of field work, to the best of our recollection, no one ever referred to them. As we met the cooperating county superintendents, principals and teachers we continued to explain ourselves and our task as simply, directly and honestly as we could. Over time this tended to be less and less by way of consent and more and more as a procedure to expedite our work.

While, until now, we hadn't really reflected upon it in this way, the arrangements of informed consent were expressed in signed and legally executed and binding contracts. In effect, the signatories were the responsible agents for their organizations in looking out for the rights and welfare of their constituents. The legal dimensions of informed consent seems a little analyzed but very significant dimension of social science research. For today much of the inquiry is carried out through interorganizational auspices that involve legal arrangements among themselves.

Now, in Federal Policy in Education, further serious yet intriguing issues in methodology lie in the rights of human subjects. The participants in the project are colleagues and peers, some of a number of years' standing. Many of them are well known professionals in education and social science. Our approach seemed to evolve out of several base line principles or givens: first, Washington University has developed in recent years a strong human subjects policy and set of procedures. The signed consent form as presented in Figure II.2 is a product of those considerations.

Insert Figure II.2 about here

Second, our experience in observational case study research over the years has involved us in a myriad of complex relationships with friends, former students, and colleagues of assorted kinds and relationships. We have continuously and cumulatively reflected upon these events. Most recently in the case study of science education in the Alte Public Schools (Smith, 1978) we raised "the two-edged sword phenomenon."

> Early on, in the choosing of Alte as a possible site, one of the chief concerns was the brevity of the allotted time. One way

CONSENT FORM

Improving Urban Education: Federal Policy in Action

The research project, Improving Urban Education, to be carried out by Professor Louis M. Smith and his colleagues from Washington University has been presented to me in written form and in an oral presentation and discussion. It is my understanding that:

1. The study is a "general history and analysis" of the Inquiry Assistance Project (IAP) from its initial conception in the Federal Education Department to its actual operation in inquiring and assisting in the public schools.

2. The principal data gathering procedures involve participant observation, interviews, and document collection. We hope to participate in and observe the project in its current operation. The study involves interviews of varying length and formality in which we try to understand each staff member's perception and point of view about IAP. We will try to be unobtrusive and as little bother as possible. However, we do hope "to be around" for approximately a year in order to come to a clear and accurate perception of the project and its functioning. Finally we hope to read a large sample of project documents which have developed over the life time of the project.

3. The benefits and possible risks to individuals lie in the reconsidering, talking about, and sharing an important episode and set of professional events. All data are confidential. In all reports each person and place will be coded for anonymity to protect the privacy of individuals.

4. A final report, probably book length, will be written and submitted to fulfill the contract.

5. I understand the project; I understand that I may terminate my participation at any time. I agree to take part in the research under these conditions.

____
Signature

Figure II.2 Rights of human subjects consent form

around that was to go where one knows people and is known and trusted. Entry times are speeded. Access to valid data is easier. A backdrop of knowledge, facts and interpretations is implicitly available for developing hypotheses and foreshadowed problems and for comparing and contrasting new data as it comes in. This issue came up in preliminary discussions of research tactics and strategy with the superintendent who had had some years before considerable experience in field research (although not with the present investigator). The note on that conversation contained the following point and aside: "Also discussed some of the negative aspects of being too close to the people in the district and taking liberties as researcher one wouldn't ordinarily do. (Obs - a good point)."

The "two-edged sword" seemed an appropriate label and it became an item in discussions with most of the "old friends" we encountered in the district. Being conscious of it, bringing it out into open discussion, urging people to speak out if and when they felt they were being compromised became part of the continuing dialogue.

To the best of my knowledge, the only major violation, if it really be that, was taking large chunks of time for extended interviews. One of these, which was partly "catching up on old times and acquaintances" ran three hours; others averaged better than an hour. In partial defense, it may be more the methodology than the prior acquaintance because several other interviews ran between one and a half and two and a half hours with staff I had not known previously.

A further aspect of the "two-edged sword phenomenon" in the analysis and write up is a tendency to "overcode" for anonymity. He's become she's, her's become his's, and so on. Incidents lose specificity in time and place. Interesting dyadic and triadic interactions become group discussions. In a sense the narrative loses some of its particularistic punch and the account loses the possibility of internal self consistency in validation, extended case analysis or situational analysis as Van Velsen (1967) calls it. Contrasts can be seen with our earlier reports in Complexities and Anatomy (1977, p. 116-117).

The third principle we built on is one of continuing dialogue and discussion and seeking mutually agreeable solutions. A number of "good labels" have been used in the past to capture the tenor of the underlying principle: "democratic evaluation" (MacDonald, 1974), mutual adaptation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975), and superordinate goals (Sherif et al, 1961). However, the label and accompanying theoretical argument we have been most responsive to is H. A. Anderson's older discussion of "integrative" behavior (1937, 1945, 1946 a and b). In effect, we have raised and talked about the issues with everyone involved and have tried to creatively think toward mutually agreeable procedures. In most instances, so far, this seems to have worked out.

Anonymity and Privacy

Informed consent usually involves discussions of anonymity and privacy to individuals in the research. In much of social science inquiry when individual responses are converted to numbers and the numbers to second and third order numbers, means, variances correlations and F ratios, the individual is easily protected through being lost in the general statistics. Although, sometimes organizations are not. For instance most school systems are very reluctant to have data accumulated which compares School X to Schools Y and Z. Case study investigations, especially in their descriptive narrative aspects, are usually about people, individuals interacting with other individuals. This makes problems of anonymity much more acute.

The first and foremost procedure is coding, that is, changing the proper names of persons, places, organizations. In the Washington School study the coding of staff names began in the field notes themselves. We coded each teacher by using letters A, B, C, etc. We kept the code sheet in our pockets. Later these were expanded into names--Alton, Bender, Carr, etc. Eventually, the children's names were coded onto a master list. Typically they were all introduced in terms of first name. The most serious problem and the one about which we had the largest discussion with publishers, colleagues, friends and ourselves was deciding about coding our own names. Out inclination was to code both. The publisher resisted this strongly, especially for Smith. The final resolution, at Geoffrey's insistence, was that he would go with the staff and remain anonymous.

The problems at Kensington (and in the Rural Highlands) were more complicated. In effect more of the people involved in the study--teachers, administrators, and consultants were cosmopolitans and were our peers in the broader national educational community. This led us to "disguise," in the sense of change, a variety of particulars which were major in the lives of the individual but which, in our best judgment were minor in terms of the analysis. In several instances, men became women and women became men, science curriculum specialists became early childhood instructional theorists, and so forth. Disguises have their problems though. One short term visitor thought we had seen most things clearly but had missed his intent slightly, as he responded unwittingly to one of our disguises. Similarly one critic (Lighthall, 1971) gave us hell for a "misinterpretation." In reality our alterations distroyed a pun made by one of the staff and caused him to overinterpret the staff member's remark.

The individuals in the report are usually recognizable to other individuals who were involved in the school. Further, a number of my colleagues know the name of the school. However, each step a reader is at a distance from the school, the more likely the coding works, even ina widely known innovation. Similarly each move a staff member makes away from the school, the less likely he is to be identified in terms of our reports. This strongly supports the coding of even large and well known schools and organizations. It also supports the continued refusal to name names or acknowledge locations of people, schools, and organizations. During the week this essay was being written, we met a fellow professional educator who inquired about one of the school districts we worked in a half dozen years ago. His fuzzy knowledge was left fuzzy. Many of the participants are still teaching and administering.

The strongest argument against coding is that it makes it difficult for others to make independent checks with their own personal knowledge. While relevant, this argument seems much less potent than a concern to protect the privacy of the individuals involved. As reports appear on important educational events, e.g., other innovative schools, Cambire (Gross et al, 1912), Stormy Heights (Reynolds, 1973), and Thornlea (Fullan, 1973), the commonalities and

and regularities will begin to appear. Major errors in reporting and interpreting will be clarified. The independent checks will occur in other studies.

Several events have tempered the impact of projects upon participants. First and perhaps most important has been time. From the year of data collection to the appearance of the book or monograph there is a period of approximately five years. This has great benefits in terms of protecting individuals. For instance, Geoffrey had left the Washington School for another position in the district and eventually left the school district for an administrative post. The principal had retired. Several teachers in Geoffrey's clique had moved to other schools and districts; to what they perceived to be better situations. These were all independent of the project. By the time the book came out the school was very much a different school.

The changes at Kensington and in the Rural Highlands have been even greater, which seems related to the substantive issues of innovation, as we have argued in the reports themselves.

A further step in coding has been dropping the calendar year, e.g., 1970, from all field note references. Since final reports and later conversions into books takes several years and during this time individuals retire, move on to other settings and forget events and circumstances this, too, aids in maintaining anonymity and confidentiality. The casual participant, who might have been on the periphery during the time, has fewer reference points when he becomes a reader of reports, monographs or books.

Consistently in our work we have tried to avoid local publicity about our work and the classes and schools we have studied. We have not tried to have the books from our projects reviewed in the local newspapers. We tend to stay away from PTA type talks. Much of the data and analyses does go into our regular teaching at the University. The undergraduates, who come from all over the country recognize the settings in their metropolitan hometowns--Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Kansas City and Los Angeles. The graduate students tend to see their own local schools and districts--all 25 or 30 in metropolitan St. Louis, as the relevant setting under analysis.

The most uncomfortable residual issue for us is to know that the portrait that has been painted of a particular individual and a situation is as accurate and as careful as we could draw, to know that it is different from his self conception, and to know that this is painful to him. Obviously all of us must face "the truth" around us at various times and in various ways. However, being a part of making a semi-permanent record of a particular individual has a humbling and disquieting aspect to it. In contrast, one of the most interesting and rewarding results from engaging in participant observer research is meeting and working in new relationships and new organizations with individuals from old projects. While we sometimes will visit and reminisce privately about old friends and occasions the focus is on new problems, projects, ideas, and issues. The shifting relationships, toward "real conversations," as one friend put it, has been both meaningful and satisfying. Our other colleagues know only that our paths had crossed earlier somewhere, which is not unusual for people who have been in professional education for a number of years.

Many of the subjects in the FPA study are themselves established and respected ethnographers, participant observers, social scientists. This fact is just one more layer of complexity in an already involved setting but it clearly added a self conscious dynamic to meetings in which we took field notes.

Several brief incidents come to mind and illustrate this point. Much like an avid photographer checking out another photographer's equipment, several people commented on the notebook that Dwyer used on the first Central City trip. Dwyer took notes through the first meeting and was conscious throughout of a variety of sidewards glances and strained positions that put participants in positions which allowed them glimpses of the field notes. The interest seemed to be in confirming that notes were being taken and perhaps, in the format rather than in the content for very short glimpses always sufficed the individual and were not repeated. A discussion of pseudonyms brought a good deal of laughter from the group. The laughter had a familiar tone to it, like an inside joke. One could readily tell these were practitioners who appreciated the added complexity and potential humor in the use of pseudonyms. On another occasion Smith and Dwyer had joined the IAP project directors at the AERA Conference in Toronto and were walking to the hotel room for some casual-get-acquainted conversation. Riding down an escalator one turned to Dwyer and said in a laughing tone, "So, you're going to get to do some p.o. now?" Dwyer was a little startled and said, "What do you mean?" The IAP leader replied, "Oh, we're going over to the hotel room and you'll be able to check out the Central City/Western City connection."

None of these examples is dramatic in itself but collectively they do demonstrate the kind of awareness of successful practitioners suddenly in the role of subjects under the ever watchful scrutiny which they, themselves, apply so automatically. In turn, it left us both conscious of professional scrutiny and concerned about both accuracy and fairness in reporting and the ethical issues running through the project.

Multiple Perceptions: Roshomon and Alexandria Quartet

In a social situation as complex as IAP it seemed feasible to present the project as clearly as possible from the perception of a number of the actors. Partly this was in the interest of fairness and impartiality to the participants and partly to give the reader an opportunity to make up his own mind about the meaning of the events, or at least to have a check on the researchers' interpretations. As we looked for models, we returned to earlier concerns and discussion we had from the arts--the movie Roshomon and the series of novels by Durrell, The Alexandria Quartet. From recent efforts in educational inquiry we have been helped by MacDonald (1974) and Delamont (1976).

Roshomon, a Japanese film, recounts a single episode from four different perspectives. The fact that each version is significantly different from each of the other comes as no surprise. What is surprising is how much can be learned from those differences. They are instructive of each individual accounting the story, of that individual's stand, perspective, point of view or idiosyncracies. Each version contributes meaningfully to one's understanding of the event and of the context in which the event occurred. Figure II.3 presents a matrix of actors, events, and perspectives.

Insert Figure II.3 about here

STORY BY	ROLE OF HUSBAND	ROLE OF WOMAN	INTERACTION OF W & B AFTER RAPE	INTERACTION OF W & H AFTER RAPE	INTERACTION OF H & B AFTER RAPE	DEATH OF HUSBAND	DAGGER
Bandit	H tied and forced to witness rape	Raped but became willing partner	W asked to go with survivor of fight - hoped B would win	None - wanted B to kill H	Resourceful, skilled sword fight	Killed by B with sword	Dagger lost
Woman	Same	Raped brutally and mortified by experience	None. B left scene	H had only contempt for W. Out of confused anguish, she offered him her life	None	Killed by W with dagger	W lost track of it
Husband	Same	Raped by B and impressed by manhood	W begged B to fight with H and wanted to go with him. B disgusted with her and chased her off	None	B released H and went off on his own	Committed suicide with dagger	Someone pulled it from his chest
Woodcutter	Same	Raped by B, mortified, but emerged wanting to save face	W teased B into fight with H. Neither man very ready to fight	W teased H into fight	Cowardly and awkward fight ending in death of H	Killed by B with sword	Said no knowledge of it but very nervous

Characterizations

1) Woodcutter - honest, simple man torn by necessity to provide food for his family. Guilt ridden.
2) Bandit - filled with machismo, created mythology around life to maintain manly image.
3) Husband - proud nobleman.
4) Wife - repressed by aristocratic socialization, life very controlled, filled with fantasies.
5) Priest - self doubter, looking for truth and goodness in man so that he can believe in himself.

Figure II.3 The parallels to Roshomon (from Dwyer, 1977)

For what amounts to a recent, oral-historical study the lesson of Roshomon is particularly appropos to the FPA project. Not only are we recording varied accounts of the same story but varied accounts from trained observers. Their accounts compare and contradict. For any reader searching for ultimate truth let the words of Paul Watzlawick serve as a reminder of our belief.

> ...there are, in fact, many different versions of reality, some of which are contradictory, but all of which are results of communication and not reflections of eternal, objective truths.

Once the accounts have been collected, the task is to find meaning in them. Figure II.3 shows an attempt to wring clarity from the Roshomon maze. Whatever the final form, this report has the responsibility to present the viewpoints to the readers rather than their version of the truth. Such a stand has the advantage of helping the researcher avoid two traps, one, a pitfall of data collection, the other, of analysis. Einstein spoke of the first trap when he said, "it is theory which decides what we can observe." Watzlawick, again, speaks to the second:

> ...once we have arrived at a solution--and in the process of getting there, have paid a fairly high price in terms of anxiety and expectation--our investment in this solution becomes so great that we may prefer to distort reality to fit our solution rather than sacrifice the solution. (p. 54)

In contrast to both Roshomon and the Alexandria Quartet we made a distinction between the interviewee and the actors in the episode. While all the names are coded throughout, we have typically not identified, even by coded name, the interviewee. Usually but not always the coded actors are identified. In this way we have tried to maintain the anonymity of the interviewees vis a vis the other individuals in the system. Often the identification is by position or subgroup--e.g., one of the leaders, the FED's, the field researchers. Figure II.4 clarifies this set of procedures.

Insert Figure II.4 about here

Reactions to the Report

In the discussion surrounding informed consent, part of the agreement involved the opportunity for the participants to react to an initial draft, entertain discussion of matters of fact and interpretation, and if differences in view remained to append written alternative positions. Later as data gathering got underway, the idea evolved that it might be appropriate to have subgroup discussions around the preliminary document, record the discussions, and where appropriate elaborate the document with these materials. The critical problem at this point seems to be time. The plans remain. We'll have more to say in this section after the experience.

		Participant in the Discussion		
		Not identified	Sometimes identified	Identified
Interviewee	Identified			
	Sometimes identified			
	Not identified	X	XX	XXX

Figure II.4 Aspects of confidentiality and anonymity

Now, in this final revision we do have several more comments to make. They include 1) nature and amount of soliciting of reactions; 2) the incorporation of the comments into the report; and 3) the degree of change in the final report.

As soon as we had a typed finished draft we sent it to the Project Director of IAP. Some question had existed whether it would be mailed out by him, for we had a subcontract with ARC or whether it would be sent out by us. Eventually we wrote a covering letter and he wrote a short accompanying letter. The content of each was mutually agreed upon. These are included here as Figures II.5 and II.6. This process took several weeks.

Insert Figures II.5 & II.6 about here

Two months later we sent a second letter to everyone we had interviewed with a brief penciled-in note thanking those who had responded. It's included as Figure II.7.

Insert Figure II.7 about here

The largest problem remained--what to do with the comments. As we read, arranged, and categorized them, and as we talked with colleagues about their mode of handling such data we struggled a bit and hit upon a kind of rationale and a set of procedures. The rationale came when we noted that the items were one more piece of data in a continuing series of several kinds of data at several points in time. We have arranged these continuities in Figure II.8. In this context, the data lose much of their "special character" for they become just another slice of data, both oral and written, at a particular time in a particular context. They have a special character which might be viewed positively as "correcting errors in our story and analysis" and negatively as "rewriting history" on the part of the participants.

Insert Figure II.8 about here

How we used the kinds of comments we received seemed to us to be critical. In our considerations of the problem several generalizations struck us:

1) No one quarreled with the overall analysis, hence the basic interpretive structure of the report was maintained

2) A number of participants argued that we hadn't said well what we had to say. This led to major revisions in writing--development of section overviews, strengthening of summaries, cutting larger quotations from the notes into shorter and more explicit points.

WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY
IN ST. LOUIS

Graduate Institute of Education

March 28, 1979

Enclosed is a draft of a history and analysis of the "Inquiry and Assistance Project," what we have called IAP. We have spent over a year talking with many of you, reading innumerable documents, and visiting several key settings. We have tried our best to capture the multiple perspectives about IAP and integrate them into an overall statement about what we think is both a very important and complex set of events. It's a big, sprawling, detailed, and perhaps long winded report. Somehow it wouldn't stop.

Now we are interested in your reactions. The research process was designed to include this step to correct and enrich our original draft. Are we factually in error at any points? Have we missed important and relevant items? Have we overinterpreted or underinterpreted significant events?

This next phase is important for the final document and leads to several concerns and possible procedures. First, Dave and I will be at AERA and would be pleased to see and talk with those of you who are there and who have had a chance to read the document. We had hoped to have had more lead time for you on this, but it got too big too slowly. Second, if we could have written comments or perhaps taped comments back by May 1, 1979 that would give us a cutoff time for getting a final revision done late this spring or early this summer. Third, if it's simpler you might want to comment on the draft manuscript itself and send it back. That has the added advantage of controlling the circulation of this preliminary draft. We ask that you treat this draft as privileged at this point. We'd like for everyone involved to have their say on this one before the final statement is prepared.

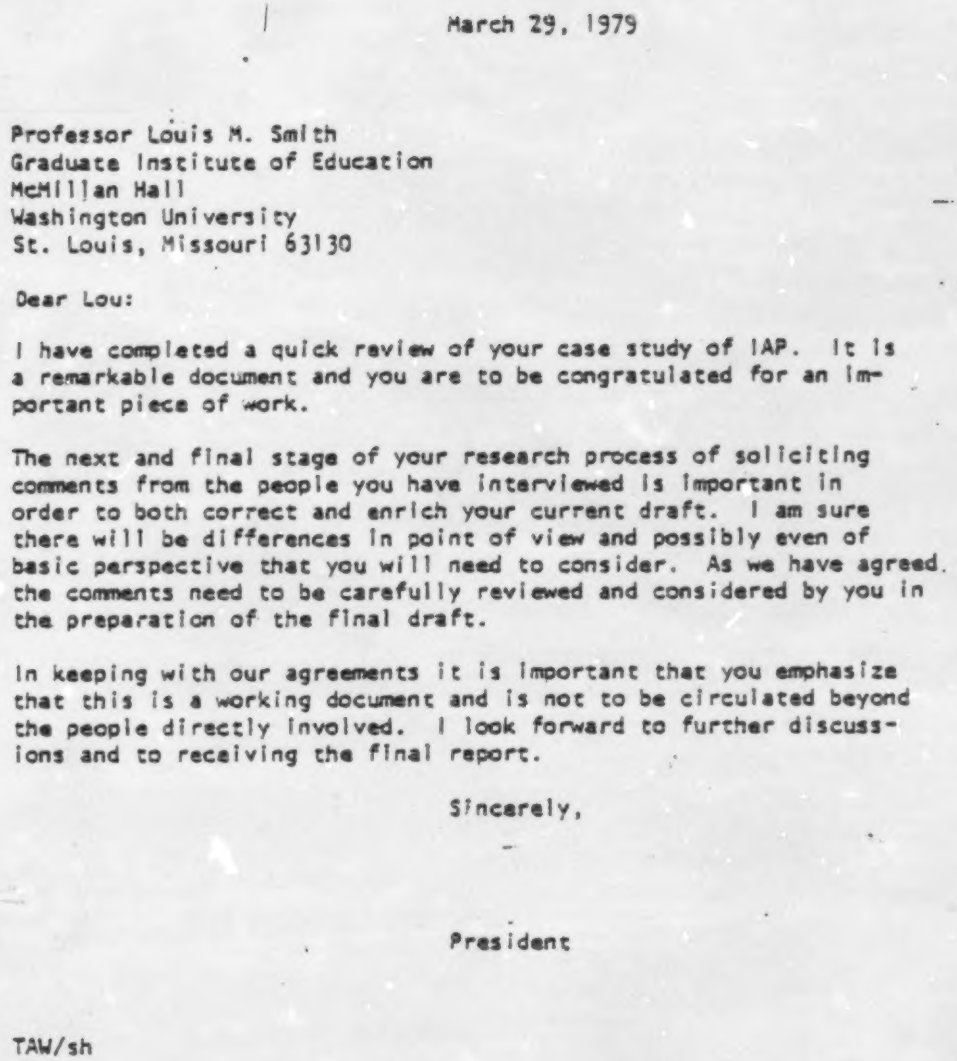
Once again, we have found "IAP" to be an incredibly important and interesting experience. We're pleased to have had a part in it. We've appreciated your help in our trying to do a history and analysis. We look forward to any further reactions you have.

Sincerely yours,

Louis M. Smith
Professor

Figure II.5

Washington University/Campus Box 1183/St. Louis, Mo. 63130 (314) 889-6707



March 29, 1979

Professor Louis M. Smith
Graduate Institute of Education
McMillan Hall
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Dear Lou:

I have completed a quick review of your case study of IAP. It is a remarkable document and you are to be congratulated for an important piece of work.

The next and final stage of your research process of soliciting comments from the people you have interviewed is important in order to both correct and enrich your current draft. I am sure there will be differences in point of view and possibly even of basic perspective that you will need to consider. As we have agreed. the comments need to be carefully reviewed and considered by you in the preparation of the final draft.

In keeping with our agreements it is important that you emphasize that this is a working document and is not to be circulated beyond the people directly involved. I look forward to further discussions and to receiving the final report.

Sincerely,

President

TAW/sh

Figure II.6

WASHINGTON
UNIVERSITY
IN ST. LOUIS

Graduate Institute of Education

May 23, 1979

We've had a number of comments on the report Federal Policy in Action. As we have gone through them, they have been very helpful in reconsidering the story and analysis of IAP. We're about to begin the final formal revising and rewriting. If you have thoughts from the preliminary draft do write or call immediately. We want the final-final report to be as responsive, accurate, and coherent as we can make it. Those of you who have already responded, please call or write if additional thoughts have arisen.

Regards,

Louis M. Smith
Professor

LMS:jrh

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Figure II.7

		Year					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
Kinds of Data	1. Formal Public Documents (RFPs, Proposals, Reports, etc.)	X	X	X	X	X	X
	2. Internal Informal Documents (Letters, Formative Evaluation Records, Notes, Memos)	X	X	X	X	X	X
	3. Smith's Notes, Correspondence and Memos as Advisor			X	X		
	4. Field Notes and Summary Observation by Smith and Dwyer as Researchers					X	X
	5. Taped Interviews of 30+ Participants					X	
	6. Written and Oral Reactions to Final Report						X

Figure II.8 Intersection of Kind of Data and Year of IAP

3) Questions of emphasis arose in our slighting part of the history, the activities of subgorups, and the perspectives of individuals or parts of IAP. As we weighed these we tended to agree that they hit spots where we ran out of time and energy. In some instances we made a pass back through documents and interviews to reassess points.

4) Most surprising, we received more emotional reactions, often negative and usually directed at former colleagues. Some of this we tried to include to capture the tone of the perspectives.

5) From two participants we received back copies of the original manuscript with interlinear comments. We felt a bit like Darley hearing from Balthazar (Durrell, 1968). This proved very helpful in clarifying commonalities and differences. We tried to incorporate much of this along the way. This kind of data seems very powerful and we hope to pursue it more intensively in a later study. This led us also to further aspects of analysis of the Roshomon problem. The possibility of development of overlapping Venn or Euler diagrams. The idea is represented in Figure II.9. The more complete analysis will appear in a later paper (Smith, Dwyer, and Prunty, In process).

Insert Figure II.9 about here

The rationale and the kind of comments solved the problem of how to incorporate the comments into the final draft. Since those items were another slice and strand of data, they went in as illustrative commentary, as footnotes, and as alternative points of view just as other data had. We indicated carefully, as we had done with every other strand, when and how they arose so that the reader could continue to use his own judgment regarding them as evidence.

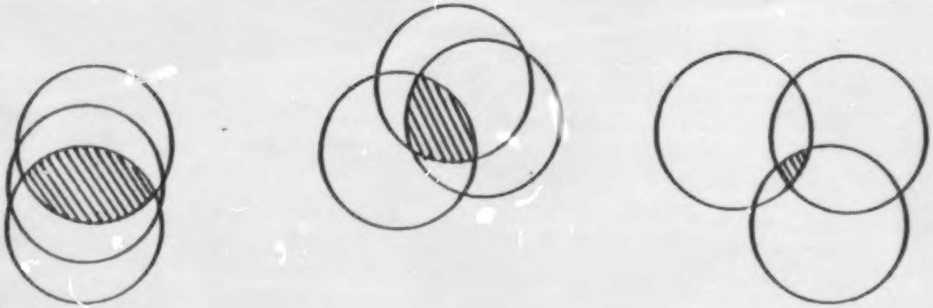


Figure II.9 Degrees of Agreement in Three Different Hypothetical Episodes

4. PROCEDURAL ASPECTS

A number of procedural items arose about which we thought and made decisions, most of which were important for the overall results. While they have ethical aspects to them, the central focus has been on more technical issues in the methodology. They fall into three broad categories, general tactics, data generating tactics, and drafting the final report.

4.1 General Tactics

With each observational study we try to explicate whatever new wrinkles have been involved. The References include our earlier work and list most of the tracks we have left behind. Here we attend to a couple of nuances.

Scanning: the Wide Intake of Information

Related to the problem of theory and empirical research, especially in field research is another practical device; a habit of scanning wide and varied bodies of literature. While working on this methodological appendix and beginning thinking about the various themes, Issue #2 of Volume 32 of the SSRC's *Items* came in the mail. The lead article was "Conflict in Postwar Japan" (Krauss et al, 1978). The authors are political scientist, anthropologist, and sociologist/social psychologist. In their discussion they comment, "No commonly accepted 'conflict theory' exists" (p. 23), and then they reference a half dozen books and articles over the last twenty-five years. Conflict is a major theme in our data; we need to develop it. Here was help in doing just that. Figure II.10 elaborates on the theoretical significance of scanning.

Insert Figure II.10 about here

The general model bears some striking similarities to more general models of problem solving (e.g., Guilford, 1967). Such simple antecedents as being on a variety of mailing lists brings a number of items to one's attention. These items include multiple disciplinary perspectives, key ideas, and key literature to search. These activities enhance practical analyses and theoretical development. These latter are major, important and difficult to achieve outcomes in field research.

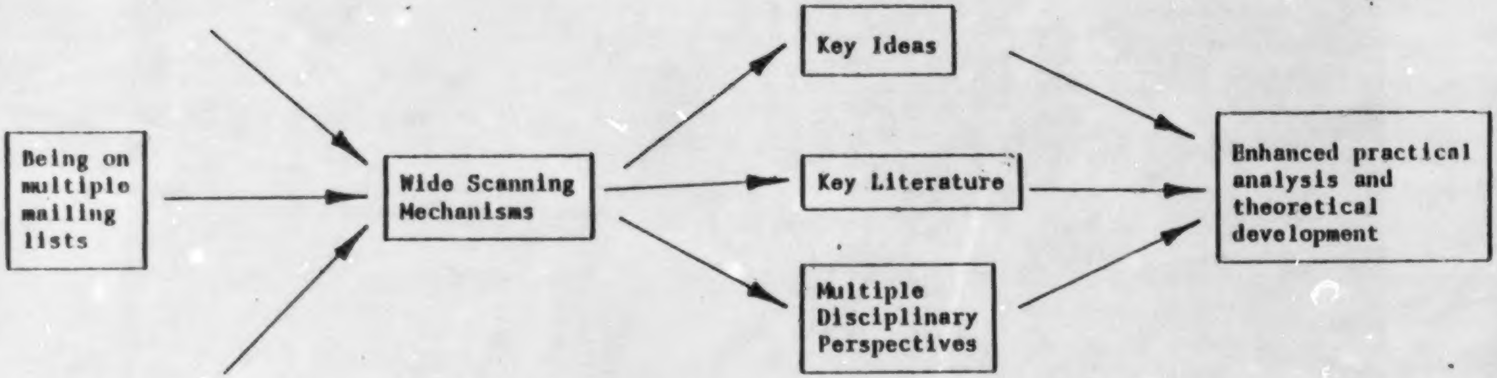

Being on multiple mailing lists
Wide Scanning Mechanisms
Key Ideas
Key Literature
Multiple Disciplinary Perspectives
Enhanced practical analysis and theoretical development

Figure II.10 Scanning mechanisms in theory development in field research

Cycling and Sequencing: Descriptive and Theoretical Sampling

Over the years we have tried to come to grips with Glaser and Strauss' theoretical sampling. (Smith and Pohland, 1972, 1976, Smith, 1979). Eventually we found we tended to engage more in "descriptive sampling," that is, a coverage of the common sense territory of the phenomenon under study. We continued this in the present study in that we had an initial round of interviews in Federal City, in Central City, in Western City, and Eastern City, the locations of the several organizations involved in LAP. Within these we talked to people at all levels and positions in the organization.

Later, on a further round of interviews we intended to sample theoretically in the form of competing hypotheses (Smith, 1979). For instance we set up a falsification paradigm from the theories of May (1973), Janis (1972), Lindblom (1969) and Gross (1977). We hoped to go back to Federal City to test our hypotheses. However, time ran out on this. We pushed this part of the procedure back to the overall reactions to an initial draft of the report. Hopefully there will be some face to face interaction in keeping with this intention.

As we talked of "one more trip to Washington," to Central City, to...., and our impending final report deadline, the rationale which arose seemed important and revealing methodologically:

1. more data to use in the report vs.
2. more data to test the developing conception vs.
3. more data politically to cover ourselves, touch a few more bases.

Those purposes all seem important and relevant. It might be described as issues in "late in the day data collection."

4.2 Data Generating Tactics

In the spirit of triangulation and multimethod approaches (Campbell and Fiske, 1959; Denzin, 1970; Smith, 1978) we have blended direct observation, intensive interviewing, document analysis, and collegial sharing and helping.

The direct observation has been a lesser part of the data than in most of our participant observation case studies, however, it has been significant. As a member of LAP's advisory board Smith attended three major meetings--Central City three days, Mountain View three days, Central City three days scattered over two years. In addition, he spent several days on site at several locations. During the course of the project, he had informal discussions at professional meetings, conferences, and symposia with one or another of the multiple persons connected with the project who were professional colleagues. In addition, he was a part of dozens of telephone calls, some with individuals and some with groups in conference calls.

Data from formal interviews represented a more important thrust in this project than in our earlier work. Overall we interviewed 29 individuals involved in the project. Most of these, 92 hours worth, were tape recorded. They resulted in hundreds of pages of data. Most were carried out in an open ended oral history style (Grele, 1975). "We're interested in your perceptions and involvement in the history of the project...." The participant usually tended to give chronological accounts; some gave more analytical, interpretive, evaluational perspectives. We felt somewhat clumsy in the initial interviews both in terms of the flow, the time involved, and wanting to intervene as little as possible, particularly in the beginning phases of data collection. In some ways we muddled along as we tried to be both sensitive and responsive. Two illustrations convey some of our meaning and also speak to the validity of the data. In Central City, after a group meeting regarding the research, Smith was talking individually with members of LAP, and in his view, handling any private questions or reservations. In the second of these interviews, the participant inquired whether the interview should be taped, Smith fumbled a bit saying he hadn't intended to tape at this point but hoped to in the future. He said he had a recorder and tapes; Smith indicated he had brought a tape recorder along. Trying to be responsive, he went ahead and plugged it in. The project colleague talked rapidly, intensively and affectively about LAP for an hour and a half. In all subsequent "get acquainted interviews" Smith commented that in an earlier interview it had been suggested that we tape and then asked, "Is it ok?" All but one participant said fine. A second illustration occurred in Capital City, interviewing a member of the Federal Education Department. We pushed the button at 1:35 p.m. and he didn't stop until 6:10 p.m., in spite of our social noises and comments about "taking too much time." He kept saying, "I have until 6 p.m." The next day one of his colleagues commented about our lengthy discussion, we remarked on our surprise about the time, and the colleague commented, "He's been waiting a long time to tell his view of the story."

The wealth of documents is best captured as four filing drawers. Literally dozens of formal reports from 300-page case studies to shorter papers delivered at national conventions to inhouse think pieces are part of our data set. LAP was a very self-conscious organization and individuals wrote reactions after conferences and meetings and in response to memos and position papers. Partly because of the distance and the involved organizational structure letters and memos were exchanged throughout the project, among the leaders, and between the FEDs and the project personnel. We collected batches of these.

Finally, because we had known a number of individuals before and shared interests in case study research, alternative schools, and school reform we participated collegially with several members of the project. We read early drafts of papers and project reports, discussed, debated and argued, and shared the joys and pains of that kind of creative activity. In some instances that consumed hours, half days and even full days. We did our best to be helpful in the most immediate and direct sense of that term. In the course of that work we developed images, insights, and shared understandings of the sort that only comes from being a complete participant in social activity. In Junker's (1960) conception we were complete participants.

Interviewing

In the course of data gathering we had dozens and dozens of conversations with people connected with LAP. The more formal of these--in the sense of at least an hour and almost always with a tape recorder--we called interviews. We did 29 of these. They ranged in length from an hour to about eleven hours, the latter over several days and occasions. They totalled 92 hours. These were all transcribed into typescripts, we haven't counted the pages.

On Learning to Interview: Each project we have been on incorporates new techniques. In this one, the accent on the lengthy, several hours, open-ended interview was the new tack. Getting it incorporated into our prior, more heavily observational approach required some experience, learning, and skill development. Immediately after the Washington trip, these summary notes were made; now seven months later, as we are analyzing the data around organizational aspects of policy making they seem relevant.

> One of the things that it seems to me I blew in terms of the general working out in Washington this week was not attending any of those meetings that are going on. In a sense, we were so caught in the interviews and playing around with those in a way that we had never done before, or at least I'd never done before quite like that, that I lost sight of some other aspects of what we're about and have been about over the years. Essentially, it's pushing very hard on observing what people do. We missed some very good opportunities in the sense of they're being in the middle of all of their planning and budgeting for the next few years. That's the time to have really seen how they put it all together and how they work together. That's another part of the contextual piece that we need to get at. In retrospect, we blew that. We were both so tired after that first day and then on the second day we wanted to see the cherry blossoms and take a walk, both of which were necessary and desirable, but somehow it clouded our view that there were things to be seen in the way the people worked in their committees around the office. (SO, Y/5)

In those same notes were ideas about how to recover the loss.

> There's a methodological issue here too in that I tried to keep those reasonably open so that we could go in different directions. Somehow I keep not anticipating as well as I feel like I should. I'm left with a feeling of kind of fumbling around through the interviews. It seems as though, if we've got enough time, and if we can get back a time or two more, and the natural predilection of the people to want to talk about some things that have been on their minds and being open to hear it if we don't control the interviews too tightly that we'll get a fair percentage of that kind of stuff. (SO, Y5)

Open-ended Interviewing: The initial tact in the interviews was an attempt to be open-ended. Most individuals knew the interviewer. The initial remarks had a ring of familiarity and acquaintance.

> OBS: Ok, the typist says I'm supposed to hang that right around your neck or something so that we come through all right.
>
> The tactic that I've been using essentially is to tell people that I don't really want to put my template on them and on IAP. I'm really more interested in your own views of the organization and the total project. And letting people start wherever they want to start--either around issues they see as salient that if we're

> to tell a story and a history of the project, "My God, we got to have this in it"--that kind of thing. Or a little bit about when they joined the organization, what they did in it, and then let that spill on out. So, I don't have any strong notion of where you want to start. It might be easier if you like to tell me the story about the recent activity with Roy and then kind of work backwards, if you want. Or uh...whatever.
>
> Interviewee: Yeah, I don't know, it's such a difficult story to tell. I--um...OK, maybe I should start at the beginning because I think I--the problems that I see as basic to IAP started at the very, very beginning. Just--um...even at the hiring process.

The interview continued for over two hours and produced thirty-seven pages of narrow-margined, single-spaced typed protocol.

Quality of Affect: The closing comments by the interviewer captured a quality of affect he felt and perceived in one interview.

> OBS: I keep having the feeling that we could go on and on and on. we ought to quit. Again, I can't tell you how appreciative I am for the chance to, obviously learn more about IAP, but also see you again. And see you so happy and vibrant. Yeah, the good effects obviously shine through in your own life. Well, as I said earlier, we're hoping to get a draft out in the next couple of months. At that time, we'll circulate them to everybody that we've talked to and whatever interest or inclination or whatever in terms of comments and reactions to....And if somehow, between now and whenver, if as you continue to reflect on IAP, something comes up that, "My God, I should have told Lou about it," give me a call at Washington University collect and so on, and we'll just chat on the phone. Well,....(end of tape)

In a sense these interviews were very much of an extended chat or conversation in a longer serial of two individuals who had come to know and enjoy a fruitful collegial professional relationship. Most of the interviews fell toward that end of the continuum. They seem to be special in this regard, and different from the account of interviewing that one reads about in social science method books. There was an involvement, a more formal sharing, for the record, of ideas, attitudes and beliefs, which had been informally talked about on other occasions.

Notes on Reading Documents in Field Work

We haven't found methodological statements--either at the theoretical or the practical level--which indicate how one is to "read documents" gathered in field research. While we have been reading documents in all of our work we have not reflected seriously upon the process. These notes begin that reflection. First, and perhaps most significantly, we have been inundated with "paper." Our document file is larger than it has ever been. For example, the ten case studies run between 150 and 300 pages. Each of them has been through multiple editions. As one project editor commented regarding one of the cases, "There have been 8 (9?) editions on that one." Insofar as "getting the cases completed" has been a major issue in the project, then the evolution of each is an important substantive item in its own right. One kind of data supporting our interpretation and analysis of the cases are those multiple editions. But the point here is that the sheer quantity of documents vis a vis fewer notes of direct observations has pushed us to be more reflective on the nature and reading of documents.

Second, the most significant, if simple point in retrospect, is our attempt to treat document reading as a kind of participant observation--observing and interacting with an individual who happens to be present in a non-contingent written form--which may not be too different from non-participant observing and interviewing of an individual. This implements a whole complex of cognitive skills--manifest vs. latent meaning, antecedents and consequences, unobtrusive indicators, foreshadowed problems, interpretive asides, and so on. (For a more elaborate discussion see Smith, 1978.) Further, it seems related to what Easley (1974) has called protocol analysis with Piagetian clinical method interviews.

Third, one of our best illustrations is the discussion of unobtrusive indicators of theoretical issues in the project. (See Chapter Eight.) It arose in reading one of the case studies and being struck that there were no references to any literature outside the participants in the setting. This then led to checking out the remaining cases and the table in Chapter Eight.

Fourth, there are some simple "tips" on reading which have evolved more generally with us over the years and in particular in the FPA project. For instance, in abstracting and note taking on any research article or discussion piece we have always concluded our notes with a section on "Personal Reactions." These are criticisms, insights, extensions, alterations, implications. They have been rationalized by reference to Torrance (1959) work in creative thinking and reading sets. They bear a strong resemblance to the "interpretative asides" which have been a part of our participant observer work since the beginning. (Smith and Geoffrey, 1968; Smith, 1978). They have helped process this kind of data in ways already a part of our repertoire.

4.3 Drafting the Final Report

A number of practical and theoretical issues intersect as one moves toward drafting the final report. These include the importance of models of reporting, the New Journalism approach, the book-a-day principle, and racing with the clock.

Models of Reporting

Each time we undertake a project and begin to worry along the decisions regarding the shape of the final report we end up with some frustration that we're making the best of a bad situation. That is, there is no format which answers all of the questions. This time we pushed our thinking a step or two further in clarifying our options. Figure II.11 contains a model of those alternatives. Essentially we see a continuum from mostly narrative to mostly

Insert Figure II.11 about here

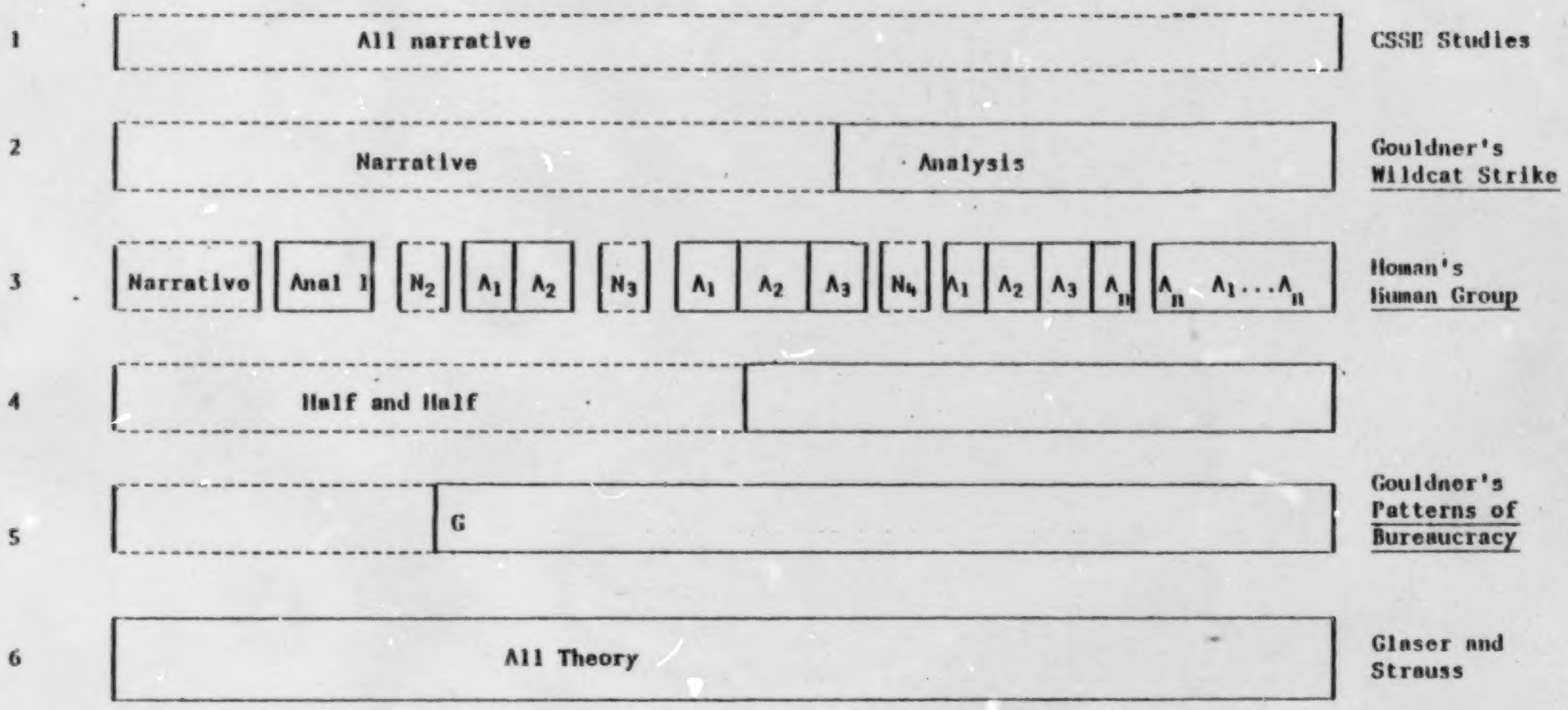

1
All narrative
CSSE Studies
2
Narrative
Analysis
Gouldner's Wildcat Strike
3
Narrative
Anal 1
N2
A1
A2
N3
A1
A2
A3
N4
A1
A2
A3
An
An
A1...An
Homan's Human Group
4
Half and Half
5
G
Gouldner's Patterns of Bureaucracy
6
All Theory
Glaser and Strauss

Figure II.11 Models of Reporting Social Science Case Studies

theoretical with varying amounts of each as alternatives in between. The model we hoped for in Federal Policy in Action is #3, an elaboration of our understanding of George Homan's format in The Human Group (1950). There, he worked off of a half-dozen separate case studies. In each he presented a section of descriptive narrative material (usually a chapter, although with the Irish Countryman only a few pages). Then he presented a chapter or two of analyses. Each analytic section repeated briefly what had gone before but then built a new piece. In our diagram we have denoted these as A_1, A_2, $\ldots A_n$. The analytical pieces cumulate, differentiate, generalize, integrate, and eventually create. In our judgment, a remarkable achievement.

In our monograph, the parallels and variations were to be these. Overall, we have one case. Second, the strand has a chronological sequence--from the beginnings of IAP until its termination and winding down. The story could be read along by attending to Chapters 1, 3, 5, etc. The analytical chapters pick up on key themes within each of the periods. The concepts, prepositions (Hypotheses) and miniature theories progressively differentiate, cumulate, and integrate toward a more abstract and general position. The totality represents "our best thinking." As such our emphasis is less on the tidiness of the formal structure and more on its pragmatic power to help solve other problems in the domain of federal policy and urban education, an important part of a larger theory of education. As the report developed we found that our intentions didn't work out. The sense of the report seemed to be handled best by a variation between models 4 and 5.

The final sorting produced another kind of phasing of elements in the report, which we had not planned initially but evolved in a reasonable way. Section I of this report is a bit about our view of what is problematic but mostly about IAP. Section II, the narrative, is almost completely about the project. Section III, the analysis blends a fair amount of literature, a good bit of data, and a fair amount of our developing conception. Section IV is much less of the project, a bit of the literature and mostly our recommendations or suggestions. This appendix is mostly our vision and version of this instance of field work. We have not done a report in quite this form before.

The Write Up: The New Journalism Model

In 1972 Smith participated in a small and probably little known conference sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation in Cambridge, England. One of the products of that conference was a manifesto that addressed the primary concerns of that group with more productive ways to evaluate curriculum. Much of the same spirit implicit in that document pervades this project. Particularly, there is a desire for the results of this project to speak to multiple problems and to divergent groups of readers in a clear, ringing style. Though addressed specifically to curriculum evaluation the following quote from the manifesto speaks to a much more general concern of future research efforts:

> That future efforts to evaluate these practices be designed so as to be:
> (a) responsive to the needs and perspectives of differing audiences;
> (b) illuminative of the complex organizationa, teaching and learning processes at issue;

(c) relevant to public and professional decisions forthcoming; and
(d) reported in language which is accessible to their audiences. (Hamilton et al, 1977, p. viii)

Perhaps, the central issue here is making the study useful. We feel one way to accomplish this end is by assuring the final document is readible and presents the data in such a fashion that the readers can draw their own conclusions as well as evaluate ours. To that end we want to first tell a good story, a story that is absorbing, gripping and communicates a sense of immediacy. Such realism has been attained by authors who subscribe to a new mode of journalism knows as "The New Journalism." In a book by that name, Tom Wolfe describes the four basic literary devices that have evolved with authors who sought realism first in fictional works and now in accurate reporting. The devices are: 1) scene by scene construction, 2) full use of dialogue, 3) third person point of view, i.e., describe the scene from the viewpoint of one or more of the participants, 4) and finally, description of status life, i.e., reporting the patterns of behavior and possessions through which people illustrate non-verbally their position in the world, their viewpoint and aspirations.

The fit of those principles with the participant observer approach to research is obvious. Carefully prepared, fully descriptive field notes, personal interviews with participants [illegible]ng in some instances a participant one's self and scrutinizing documents from the setting provide the kind of data which easily allow the researcher to operationalize those four principles in reporting. There are admittedly artistic limits to what these researchers or others may accomplish with these techniques but conscientious application of them surely will improve the readability of studies.

The "Book-a-Day" Rule: Analyzing and Writing

On occasion when one is joking with one's colleagues, a major point is caught in the humor. As we were working on the analysis we were trading references between ourselves, raising questions with our colleagues in the GIE, and commenting on the wealth of literature which seemed relevant to the FPA Study. For instance, in the last couple of weeks (10/31/78) these have been in our thinking:

Fein's The ecology of the public school
Berger and Luckmann's The social construction of reality
Boguslaw's The new utopians
Galper's The politics of social services
Emery and Trist's Towards a social ecology
Pressman and Wildavsky's Implementation
Bernbaum's Knowledge and ideology in the sociology of education
Klapp's Collective search for identity

We commented, "We're reading a book a day," as we tried to move back and forth among the data, the developing ideas, and related literature. That phrasing captures nicely one of the most important aspects of the field work experience in the data analysis phase.

It speaks also to the troublesome problem of "the literature review" in field research. The usual format, in more classical discipline oriented research, requires an initial literature review which culminates with the more sophisticated users, in a middle range theory which has one or more testable hypotheses. Zetterberg's little book, On theory and verification in sociology, 3rd ed., (1965) says all this as simply and clearly as any we have found. While we have argued strongly for foreshadowed problems and a broad acquaintance with problems, issues, multiple perspectives and competing theories in the literature we have always found that the data carry us off in new and unexpected directions. Often these are into areas with which we have had only marginal acquaintance. Such is the case of the half dozen books listed above.

We find that only as we are in the thick of the fray, trying to organize and make sense of some piece of recalcitrant data, that the literature takes on a compelling quality. It forces the literature (the implicit theorizing) against a hard pragmatic criterion--Will it work for us in helping solve this or that key issue or problem? That's a slightly different stance about theory; it's not something apart from the workaday world of people grappling with problems. If it doesn't help it's discarded and ignored, or tucked away for another time, situation or issue. But all that is another topic.

The book-a-day rule has a host of additional implications. When one is doing field work analysis one shouldn't be doing anything else. One can't read a book a day--or we can't--and be doing much teaching, administering, consulting or whatever.

Tabula Rasa, Foreshadowed Problems, or Competing Theories

In an earlier essay (Smith, 1979), the various stances in background for approaching field studies were compared. Some investigators seemed to argue for entering the field tabula rasa--free of bias, ideas and misconceptions. Others, and we would include ourselves here, have argued for approaching the field with foreshadowed problems--ideas, issues, themes and literature which might be relevant and which would initially focus attention. Finally, we have suggested that one might approach the falsification criterion by setting up competing theories. We tried that, most notably in the policy formation area of Chapters Six and Eleven. We worked off the theoretical statements of Janis, May, Gross, and Lindblom. We couldn't make it work and reverted to our earlier approaches--essentially the initial foreshadowed problems, the hard look, and the later theoretical analysis, synthesis and critic. The factors involved

1) It seemed clumsy;
2) The theories seemed too partial, too ill-defined, and too unstructured;
3) Our cognitive styles were incompatible with the approach; and
4) The "reality" was so vivid and idiosyncratically interesting to contain and categorize early.

We remain struck by the importance of these intellectual styles in our own work. Latently, IAP seemed caught here for the ARC and GPC and various individuals who fought over the approaches to data collection and analysis seemed to represent the differences in these styles. In their own right, both are highly imaginative and sophisticated researchers, but each marching to a different beat. The project suffered enormously, not on a right versus a wrong way, but on this right way for me versus that right way for you. The project was left with an "how about the rest of us."

Currently we are making plans to attack directly that problem of cognitive research styles in field work and other investigative modes.

Limitations of In-House Review of the Preliminary Draft

We agreed to limit the distribution of our preliminary draft. Only the participants of the study received copies. The important reason for that decision reflected, again, concern for the privacy of the individual subjects. There was an obvious but unintended, negative consequence, formative criticisms came from insiders only. In our own evaluation of the first draft and in the effort to improve it we longed for the outsider perspective, whatever it might be. Unintentionally, we had fallen into one of the same traps we saw in IAP, i.e., failure to obtain informed but objective views on our work early enough in the process. Our feelings are strong in the sense of "next time" we'd do it differently.

Racing with the Clock: The Final Analysis and Writeup Process

During the final month to six weeks, just before the report-due-deadlines, our projects, and this one was no exception, take on a different flavor. The goal, being done, overwhelms all other considerations. Blinders go on regarding other professional activities. They are avoided and delayed if possible, minimized if not. Non-professional, family and social activities are all in second priority and worked in when and if possible. The project becomes an all consuming passion. It's with one day and night. You eat it and sleep with it. It wakes you up at 3 a.m., as unresolved problems in organizations of ideas push for solution. It demands decisions, it makes final compromises palatable. We tried to capture the experience in Figure II.12. The emotional quality of the experience blends intense excitement, fatigue, and quiet satisfaction. It's a strange and gripping experience.

Insert Figure II.12 about here

It's an intellectual and emotional high. And then it's finished. Then you are totally exhausted, wrung out, limp. If possible, you go hide, you eat, sleep, exercise, read novels. You forget it and you savor it. In those final weeks there's an important timing problem. If the rising curve on exhaustion catches you before the rising curve on completion, then you've got a real problem. The writing doesn't flow, the decisions don't get made, the pieces no longer integrate.

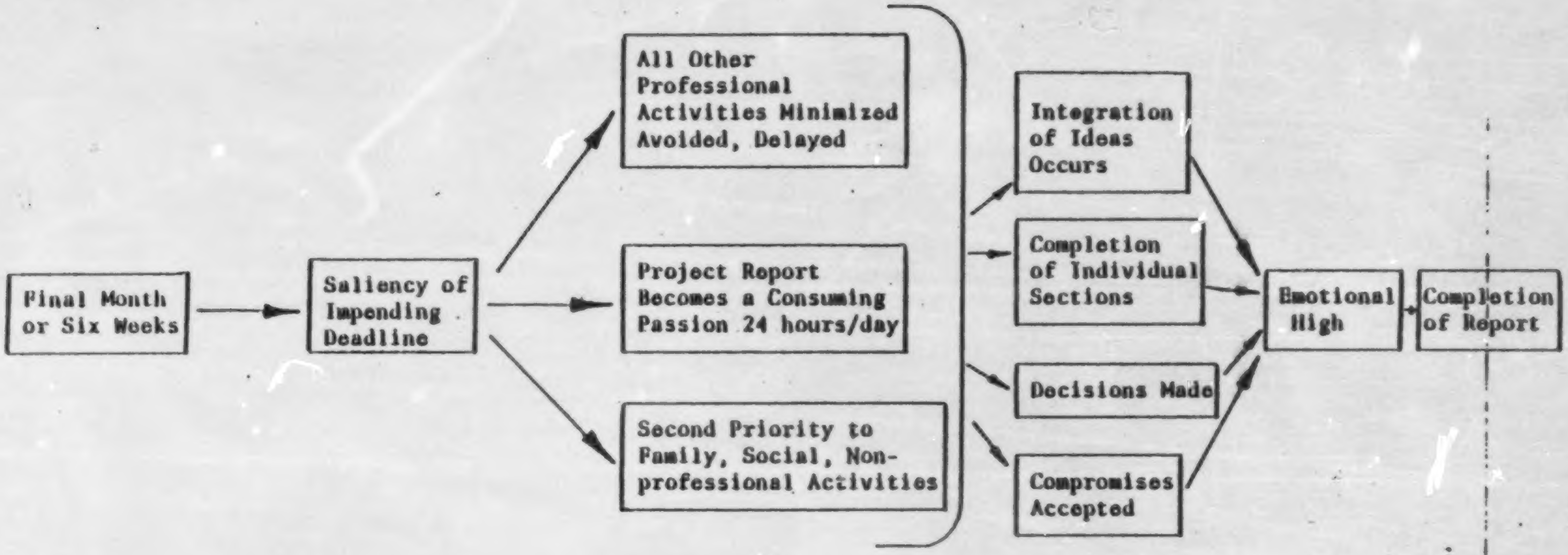

Final Month or Six Weeks
Saliency of Impending Deadline
All Other Professional Activities Minimized Avoided, Delayed
Project Report Becomes a Consuming Passion 24 hours/day
Second Priority to Family, Social, Non-professional Activities
Integration of Ideas Occurs
Completion of Individual Sections
Decisions Made
Compromises Accepted
Emotional High
Completion of Report

Figure II.12 Racing With the Clock, The Final Writeup

5. CONCLUSION

One of the hallmarks of research, from our point of view, involves the use of the concepts and theory in the methodological parts of the project which have been central to the substantive parts of the project. In addition, if major participants in the project are involved in those same concepts and theory a unique fusing of action, inquiry, and ideas occurs. Consider the following:

1. We had been arguing for the importance of the FPA problem.
2. The FEDs asked us to do "a general history and analysis of the project."
3. One of the participants put us on to May's "Lessons" of the past (1973); he saw the continuity between historical research methods and empirical case study methods, with which we also agreed (Smith, 1979).
4. May argues strongly the thesis that government policymakers misuse history, the lessons of the past. Substantively we argued this position in considerable detail in Chapter Eleven.
5. Further, we argued it in the context of IAP's initial charge regarding "knowledge utilization" in Chapter Eight.
6. Now we come one step further in using it to think through our methodological stance.

Toward the end of his series of essays, May comments:

> One function strictly for professional historians, however, is the patient assembly and analysis of historical data. If historians are to perform this function well, they must somehow become better able to study those events most likely to influence people in public life--that is, events of the relatively recent past. Even though many of these events may seem as much experience as history, they are susceptible to being better understood if carefully reconstructed--above all if reconstructed by historians of varying approaches who examine the same evidence and dispute about its meaning. In their own interest, statesmen ought not only to make possible but to invite the freest possible documentary and interview research, coming as close as practicable to the present.

The participants in the full reaches of IAP did just that. As educational inquirers we have tried to meet the challenge.

By way of further conclusion, it seems fruitful to run our methodology and procedural steps against the analysis Blumer (1974) suggested in his consideration of "Threats from agency determined research: the case of Camelot." His two major categories of concern are 1) freedom of inquiry and 2) the demonstration of the validity of one's assertions. The initial concern reflects the degree to which the researcher is a professional rather than a technician. In effect, can he question the latent premises and assumptions in the project, the manner in which the problems are stated, the dominant ideas, and objectives of the research, and the procedural steps in design and analysis. If one does not remain free at these levels, in Blumer's view, the project is constrained and the scientific inquiry is threatened. The items we have raised in this methodological appendix, from the very genesis of the problem, the people with whom we have explored the issues, the attempts to obtain and report the points of view of the multiple perspectives have all contributed to making the case for freedom of inquiry.

Blumer's second point, demonstrating the validity of assertions, as he elaborates on it, seems a brief for the congruency of participant observation as method in social inquiry and symbolic interactionism as a theoretical perspective. For him, the ultimate test is "intimate familiarity with the given field of social life." That is,

> ...the social scientist has a grasp of the sensitivities and orientations of the people under study, their world as they see it, and the content of their experience from their point of view. (1974, p. 163)

Early on, we expressed this as being coopted by most of the relevant subgroups involved in the study, individuals who are friends, peers and professional colleagues. Before FPA began we (Smith mostly) had been involved in meetings, conferences and symposia with the Federal Education Department group, with ARC, the Applied Research Center group from Central City, and GPC, the Group Process Center from Western City. Some of those acquaintanceships ran five to ten years. In the course of data collection we visited each of the departments, became involved in varied activities, often with other acquaintances and friends who were not focal to the study, but a part of the local environment. In addition, we played collegial roles of trading papers and critically commenting on each other's work. Some of this was directly related to IAP and some was part of the more general set of relationships. Finally, the strategy and tactic of submitting the initial draft of the report for commentary and discussion seems in keeping with the tenor of Blumer's perspective on intimate familiarity.

Blumer, by design, omitted discussion of the ethical aspects of Project Camelot; he sought to concentrate on the scientific issues. In our view this was a serious limitation. The kind of educational theory, if not social science theory, we are developing addresses if not blends the usual science and ethics dichotomies. Consequently our methodological discussion reports at some length on these aspects of our procedural decisions.

One of the goals of our inquiry has been a move toward internal consistency in the phrasing of the problem under analysis, the modes of data gathering, the accompanying rationale, the evolving theoretical perspective for presenting and discussing the results, and finally, the metatheoretical positions which usually are latent choices and decisions lurking in a project. Our view of Blumer's analysis helps toward that kind of integration and synthesis.

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